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ART. I. *The Life of* GEOFFREY CHAUCER, *including Memoirs of his near Friend and Kinſman* JOHN *of* GAUNT, *Duke of Lancaſter; with Sketches of the Manners, Opinions, Arts, and Literature of England, in the* 14th *Century. By William Godwin.* 2 Vols. 4to. pp. 1131. price £3. 13*s*. 6*d*. London; Phillips. 1803.

THE attention of the Britiſh public has been of late years ſo ſtrongly directed to the hiſtory of the revival of letters in Italy, that many of our countrymen ſeem to have imbibed the prejudices of the Italian ſcholars, and to have imagined that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Alps preſented a barrier beyond which it was impoſſible for genius and learning to paſs. Mr. Godwin, with a laudable zeal for the diſſemination of truth, aſſerts in theſe volumes the claim of his country to the laurel wreath, by ſhewing that the court of the third Edward was adorned by arts and literature, as well as by arms, and that if Italy is juſtly proud of the elegance of her idiomatic language, as exemplified in the writings of Petrarca, England alſo has to boaſt of the dignity which was conferred upon her vulgar tongue by the genius of Chaucer.

Though we regard the aſſertion of Mr. Godwin, (Preface, p. vii.) "that no one man in the hiſtory of human intellect ever did more than was effected by the ſingle mind of Chaucer," as much more peremptory than correct, it muſt be allowed by every lover of Engliſh literature, that the hiſtory of our earlieſt poet is a ſubject well worthy of minute inveſtigation.

Luke Hanſard, Printer, Great Turnſtile, Lincoln's Inn-Fields.

The "Abſtract of the Hiſtorical Paſſages of the Life of Chaucer," which is prefixed by Mr. Tyrwhit to his edition of the Canterbury Tales, and in which that learned and diligent ſtudent of Engliſh antiquities profeſſes to have collected all the facts relative to his ſubject, which appear to reſt upon good authority, occupies no more than twelve octavo pages; and of theſe by far the greater part is taken up by notes and illuſtrations. Our readers will therefore be ſurprized to be informed, that Mr. Godwin has experienced ſome difficulty in compriſing his memoirs of the ſame eminent perſonage in the compaſs of two conſiderable quarto volumes. If, however, when they are apprized of the extent of this work, they are induced to hope, that its author has met with abundance of documents concerning the public conduct or private hiſtory of Chaucer, which have been hitherto unknown, we muſt inform them, that their hopes will ſubject them to diſappointment. Mr. Godwin has, we doubt not, availed himſelf with due diligence of the liberal admiſſion to the inſpection of ancient records, which in his preface he handſomely acknowledges to have experienced from the keepers of our public offices; and we have only to lament that his reſearches have been productive of ſo little fruit. The materials which he has been enabled to collect, however, he has turned to the utmoſt poſſible profit. He has examined them with minuteneſs, and has manifeſted no ſmall degree of ingenuity in tracing the probable conſequences of eſtabliſhed facts, and in conjecturing their poſſible cauſes.

Building upon the foundation of the philoſophical poſition, that man is the creature of the circumſtances in which he is placed, he has given an elaborate deſcription of the ſtate of arts, ſociety, and manners, in England, during the time when Chaucer flouriſhed; and has alſo entered much in detail into the hiſtory of this country during that period.

The connection of biography and general hiſtory undoubtedly communicates to each of thoſe departments of literature a double intereſt. But we cannot on the preſent occaſion diſſemble our opinion, that the formation of this connection is not always practicable conſiſtently with the principles of juſt taſte. When the ſubject of a biographical memoir has acted a conſpicuous part in public life, his private hiſtory is ſo intermixed with the hiſtory of his country, that the one is abſolutely neceſſary to the illuſtration of the other. Hence Middleton was naturally led, in his Life of Cicero, to give a no leſs minute than intereſting account of the ſtate of parties in Rome, and without once loſing ſight of his hero, he details the particulars of the dreadful ſtruggles for power by which faction

faction after faction haraſſed the capital of the world. The eminent rank of Lorenzo de Medici, and his quarrels and negotiations in quality of chief magiſtrate of the Tuſcan republic with the various ſtates of Italy, authorized his biographer to enter at large into the contemporary hiſtory of Naples, of Milan, of Venice, &c. whilſt the liberal patronage extended by the *Magnifico* to men of learning, could not be recorded with due honour, without the introduction of memoirs of the partakers of his bounty. In inſtances ſimilar to thoſe above mentioned individual and general hiſtory go hand in hand. There is yet another caſe in which, without any ſtriking violation of propriety, a biographer may enlarge the ſtrict limits of his department, namely, when he is recording the hiſtory of men of literary eminence, who have been in the habit of communicating to their friends their opinions upon public tranſactions, and have left thoſe opinions recorded in their works. Thus the extenſive correſpondence of Petrarca with ſcholars and ſtateſmen, who regulated the deſtiny of the civilized world, may perhaps be allowed to be a ſufficient apology for the three quartos of the Abbé Sade. But no ſimilar apology can be offered for the quantity of collateral matter which Mr. Godwin has intermingled with the account of his hero. Chaucer occupied no eminent ſtation in the conduct of public affairs; and though the obſervations of a man of his talents upon the paſſing events of his time would have been ſo intereſting as to render it the duty of his biographer, at leaſt ſuccinctly, to narrate thoſe events, whatever obſervations of this kind he may have intruſted to writing, they have, with very trifling exceptions, periſhed in the wreck of ages.

While therefore we concur with Mr. Godwin in opinion, that a biographical work ought to reſemble a picture, of which the hero ſhould be the central figure, we are, in critical juſtice, compelled to ſay, that though it is difficult to determine who is the central figure of the picture which we are now contemplating, we are certain that it is not Chaucer.

With a view of enabling our readers to judge whether theſe ſtrictures are well founded, we ſhall lay before them an analyſis of the contents of theſe volumes, interſperſing, as we proceed, ſuch remarks as ſuggeſt themſelves to our minds.

In the firſt chapter of his work, Mr. G. following the received chronology, fixes the date of Chaucer's birth in the year 1328. From a paſſage which occurs in the Teſtament of Love, it is clearly aſcertained, in oppoſition to the aſſertion of Leland, that he was born in London; and we are inclined to accede to Mr. Godwin's conjecture, that his declaration, that in the

aforeſaid city he was "forth growen," implies, that he there ſpent the days of his youth, and received the rudiments of his education. We cannot, however, think that the circumſtance of Chaucer's expreſſing, in the decline of his life, an affection for his native place, and intereſting himſelf in the diſſentions of the metropolis, will, ſingly and unſupported, warrant his biographer's concluſion, that he was the ſon of a merchant, or that he inherited by birth the privileges of a citizen. However this may be, upon the foundation of this one fact, and theſe two conjectures, Mr. Godwin has raiſed a ſuperſtructure of no leſs than nine chapters, in the courſe of which, he treats of the riſe and progreſſive increaſe of the city of London —of the ſtate of learning in England during the Norman and Plantagenet princes—of the growth of the feudal ſyſtem—of chivalry and romance—of the condition of the church of England—of the diverſions of our anceſtors, and eſpecially of the minſtrels—of the origin of the Engliſh ſtage—profane dramas—miracle-plays—pageants—myſteries—maſks--burleſques feſtivals—ſumptuous entertainments—ſhows—hunting and hawking—archery—athletic exerciſes—robbery—tournaments —ancient architecture—caſtles—palaces and manor-houſes—ſculpture and painting—metallic arts—embroidery—muſic.

The foregoing extenſive variety of topics all depend, as we have before obſerved, upon the ſimple circumſtances of Chaucer's being born, and receiving his ſchool education in London, in the fourteenth century. We would by no means be underſtood to deny that the circumſtances of the times in which an individual lives muſt have great influence upon his ſentiments and conduct; but we think that in thus extending his account of the manners of the fourteenth century to the length of nine chapters, Mr. Godwin has forgotten the maxim "*eſt modus in rebus.*" And it appears to us, that he has exceeded the bounds of moderation, not only by introducing topics too remotely, if at all relative to his ſubject, but alſo by tracing the hiſtory of all the above-mentioned ſubjects of inquiry from the remoteſt times, inſtead of confining himſelf to a ſuccinct account of the ſtate of ſociety and manners in England at the period when Chaucer flouriſhed. When, for inſtance, he deduces the hiſtory of London from the time of the Romans, and inveſtigates the progreſſive influence of the Catholic religion from the 11th century, he overwhelms his ſubject in a maſs of erudition. In fact, each of theſe nine chapters is a diſſertation, and moſt of them very excellent diſſertations on the ſubject of which they treat; and had Mr. Godwin inſerted them under that character at the beginning or at the end of his work, we could have peruſed them with a pleaſure,

a pleaſure, which as they now ſtand, is perpetually interrupted by the queſtion, How can this be an integral part of the life of Chaucer? In the Court of Love, v. 918, Chaucer ſpeaks of himſelf under the title of "Philogenet of Cambridge, clerk." This notice of the place of his collegiate education, affords his biographer a legitimate occaſion to enter into an elaborate and intereſting hiſtory of the Engliſh univerſities.

From this hiſtory we ſhall preſent our readers with a few extracts:

"Whatever pretenſions they may have to a remoter antiquity, obſcured by the duſt of ages and the rarity of authentic records, it was not till literature came to be regarded as a deſirable acquiſition by perſons bred to no religious deſtination, that Oxford and Cambridge arrived to that unequivocal eminence which, with few variations, they have retained to the preſent day. A circumſtantial account of the riſe of Cambridge as a place appropriated to education, has been tranſmitted to us by Peter of Blois, and the incidents he relates appear to have taken place about the year 1109. Fitzſtephen, in a paſſage already quoted, ſpeaks of the public ſchools of London in a ſtyle ſtrongly favourable to the notion, that in the time in which he wrote they were a novelty, that is, in the reign of Henry II.

The fountains of general learning however were ſcarcely thrown open to perſons of all orders and denominations in the ſtate, before they were reſorted to with a thirſt, proportioned to the long abſtinence to which mankind had been ſubjected. Fitzſtephen ſpeaks of his ſchools as very numerouſly attended. Peter of Blois obſerves, that the profeſſors who firſt opened their courſes of ſcience at Cambridge, "began with hiring a barn in which they might deliver their lectures; but that in a little time they drew together a great number of ſcholars; and in the ſecond year the reſort, both from the town and the whole country, was ſuch that no houſe, barn or church was found ſufficient for their reception." In the year 1209, exactly one hundred years after the period ſpoken of by this hiſtorian, we find this unequivocal proof of the flouriſhing condition in which Oxford had previouſly been, that, exaſperated by an oppreſſive and arbitrary proceeding of king John, three thouſand members of the univerſity abandoned Oxford in that year, and withdrew themſelves to Cambridge and other places, where they hoped in tranquillity and peace to be permitted to purſue the courſe of their ſtudies. Thus it appears that, in a very ſhort time after the eſtabliſhment of our univerſities in their preſent form, they became more conſiderable, ſo far as reſpects the number of their members, than at preſent.

"But ſtill more extraordinary things are related on this ſubject. It is affirmed by the moſt accurate inveſtigators, that in the twelfth century the multitude of ſtudents in the univerſity of Paris exceeded even the number of the citizens. The then archbiſhop of Armagh, in the kingdom of Ireland, delivered a diſcourſe at Avignon before

pope Innocent VI. in the year 1357, in which he affirms that "even in his time Oxford had contained thirty thouſand ſcholars;" though, he adds that it had ſince fallen ſo much into decay, that at the time at which he was ſpeaking it ſcarcely contained ſix thouſand.

The cauſes of this decay, Mr. Godwin imputes to the influence of the mendicant friars, who were ſo ſucceſsful in enticing juvenile ſtudents to quit their ſecular connections and employments, that parents were unwilling to ſend youths to the univerſity where they were peculiarly liable to their ſolicitations. Having given a very detailed account of the principles and practices of theſe friars, he proceeds to deſcribe the accommodations which were provided for ſtudents, at the time when Chaucer became a member of the univerſity of Cambridge.

"Till beyond the middle of the thirteenth century, the ſcholars at our univerſities had no houſes or lodgings, but ſuch as they rented from the private citizens of the towns in which their ſtudies were purſued. Many inconveniences had followed from this cauſe; and, as will always happen when the quantity of any commodity is limited, and the number of thoſe who are deſirous to purchaſe is great, enormous prices were ſought to be put upon their accommodations by the proprietors. Frequent and vexatious diſputes had ariſen. At length the public ſpirited and munificent turned their attention to this grievance, and became willing to allot ſome of thoſe funds to the erection of halls and colleges, which had formerly been devoted to the building of abbeys and convents. This paſſion was at its height in the reign of Edward III. In the period of Chaucer's youth little progreſs had been made in this ſyſtem, Cambridge attracted the attention of the generous ſomewhat later than Oxford; and, as there were only two or three ſmall colleges then in exiſtence at that place, we may with great probability infer that Chaucer was one of thoſe ſtudents who lodged promiſcuouſly among the citizens of Cambridge."

After this account of the numbers and accommodations of the members of the univerſity, Mr. Godwin thus judiciouſly and candidly appreciates the department of ſtudy, which in the fourteenth century claimed their principal attention.

"The thirteenth century was the period in which that deſcription of human geniuſes, called the ſchoolmen, principally flouriſhed. Whatever we may decide of their purſuits, many of which appear to be, and many of which really were, frivolous, no competent judge after having looked carefully into what they did, will regard them as objects of contempt. They may be conſidered as the diſcoverers of the art of logic. The ancients poſſeſſed in an eminent degree the gift of genius; but they have little to boaſt on the ſcore of arrangement, and diſcover little ſkill in the ſtrictneſs of an accurate

curate deduction. They rather arrive at truth by means of a felicity of impulſe, than in conſequence of having regularly gone through the proceſs which leads to it. A ſtrict logic may eaſily be prized at too high a rate. It is a machine too mighty to be directed by the ſtrength of human intellect; and therefore the benefits to be derived from employing it are much ſlenderer than at firſt we might be led to imagine. The pure dialectician is ſoon bewildered in the labyrinth of his own terms; when he ſeems to be moſt accurate, he often becomes moſt abſurd; ſtrict deduction, even in mathematics, will ſometimes lead to untenable concluſions. He who truſts much to ſentiment, to impulſe, to intuition, will often be freeſt from abſurdities, and be conducted to the moſt uſeful and beautiful modes of viewing either nature or man. But, though logic is not to be uſed too indiſcriminately, or truſted too implicitly, it is an inſtrument of high value when confined within a proper ſphere. It is a touchſtone enabling us to reject with ſatisfaction many of the impoſitions which might otherwiſe be paſſed upon us; it is a branch of learning enabling us to arrange, in the cleareſt and moſt advantageous point of view, many of thoſe truths which it may be neceſſary for us to communicate to another. While engaged in the ſtrictneſs of logical deduction, we ſeem to be eminently exerciſing thoſe powers by which we are diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the animal kingdom; and man is but half himſelf, till he is able to employ with ſubtlety and acuteneſs this inſtrument for eſtabliſhing truth and confounding error."

"Such was the cultivation which then exiſted with reſpect to pure reaſoning and intellect. Nor was the period much leſs fortunate in thoſe particulars which tend to awaken the imagination, to inſpire feeling, to guide the mind amidſt all the luxuries of day-dreams and fiction, and to generate and cheriſh the poetical character. The Greek language indeed was almoſt univerſally neglected: but the Latin claſſics met with a due degree of attention; and, if the pureſt and moſt correct of theſe were not regarded with the higheſt favour, thoſe, however, which were principally in vogue were the claſſics who are moſt profuſe in imagery, and boldeſt in incident. We have already ſeen how the refinements of chivalry, ſubtiliſed and elevated as they were in the fictions of romance, ſoothed the minds, and gave a peculiar character to the tempers of the contemporaries of Chaucer. When we have collected all theſe particulars into one point of view, we ſhall eaſily be led to confeſs that it was no mean ſchool in which the great father of Engliſh poetry was prepared for the career he had to run."

It was at Cambridge, and in the eighteenth year of his age, that Chaucer produced the poem intitled, "The Court of Love;" of which Mr. Godwin gives an analyſis in his twelfth chapter. But before he enters on this analyſis, he ſatisfactorily vindicates Chaucer's claim to the title of father of Engliſh poetry, by proving to demonſtration that Gower, who is commonly ſuppoſed to be his ſucceſsful competitor for this honour, did not write his *De Confeſſione Amantis*, on which

his advocates ground his title, till many years after Chaucer had produced ſome of his moſt conſiderable poems.

Before the time of Chaucer, the Engliſh idiom was baniſhed from ſcholaſtic and polite circles.

The learned wrote and converſed in Latin, and the rigour of the Norman conquerors had ſo far ſucceeded in ſubduing even the language of the vanquiſhed, that men of rank and education in the ſtate adopted the French tongue in their converſation, and in their epiſtolary correſpondence. In attuning the vernacular tongue to the melody of poetry, therefore, Chaucer engaged in a bold experiment, the ſucceſs of which has redounded to his immortal honour.

But it is juſtly obſerved by Mr. Godwin, that "if Chaucer is well entitled to be conſidered as original in his attempt to model his native tongue to the language of poetry, he is certainly much leſs ſo in the particular ſtructure and deſign of the different performances he has left behind him. Several of them are avowedly tranſlations; and the reſt, however much they diſplay of original genius, are obviouſly formed upon the model of the different French and Italian poets, who were his contemporaries, or had only by a very ſhort time preceded him."

This circumſtance naturally leads to an inquiry into the origin of romance writing, and the riſe of Italian poetry—an inquiry which Mr. Godwin has conducted with conſiderable ſkill; and we alſo think that his aſſertion of Chaucer's poetical merits, which occurs in the latter end of the twelfth chapter, is entitled to high commendation. And though we cannot join with him in the ſweeping condemnation of modern Engliſh poetry, which occurs in p. 246, we are tempted to quote the enſuing paragraph, as an inſtance of the forcible and happy expreſſion of correct ideas.

"It is eaſy to perceive, and has been verified in the example of all ages and climates, that poetry has been the genuine aſſociate of the earlier ſtages of literature. There is then a freſhneſs in language admirably adapted to thoſe emotions which poetry delights to produce. Our words are then the images of things, the repreſentatives of viſible and audible impreſſions: after a while, too many of our words become cold and ſcientific, perfectly ſuited to topics of reaſoning, but unfitted for imagery and paſſion; and dealing in abſtractions and generalities, inſtead of preſenting to us afreſh the impreſſions of ſenſe. The attempts of the poet are boldeſt and moſt ſucceſsful, when the whole field is open to him, when he muſt ſeek for models in diſtant ages and countries, not when the excellence to which he aſpires is preoccupied by poets in his own language whoſe merits and reputation he cannot hope to equal. Criticiſm too, though it may make many judges, never perhaps ripened

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one genius. It is a deadly foe to bold and adventurous attempts, and ſcarcely leaves any hope of ſucceſs, but to him who aſpires to pleaſe us juſt as we have been pleaſed an hundred times before."

In the thirteenth chapter, we find a very curious inſtance of the difficulty under which Mr. Godwin labours, in his attempts to connect a narrative of contemporary events with the hiſtory of Chaucer. This chapter contains an account of the plague that deſolated London in the year 1349, which he connects with his ſubject, by informing us, that "though Chaucer has left no document on this ſubject in his works, *we may be aſſured, that he ſaw many things at the time, and heard more, the recollection of which could never be effaced from his mind*; and that as we have no information as to where Chaucer reſided, or how he was employed during this extraordinary occurrence, Mr. Godwin is inclined to fill the vacuity to his own imagination, by recollecting the ſituation of a great poet of a ſubſequent age, in the time of a ſimilar calamity." In purſuance of this idea, he conjectures, that as Milton in the above-mentioned circumſtances retired to Chalfont St. Giles, where he finiſhed his Paradiſe Loſt, ſo "Chaucer retired to the groves, and did not ceaſe to be a poet."

In ſettling the chronological order of Chaucer's works, Mr. Godwin is of opinion, that the "Court of Love" was followed by the "Boke of Troilus and Creſſeide." This poem is analyzed at conſiderable length in the fifteenth chapter of Mr. Godwin's work; and in the ſixteenth, we find an account of the continuation of it by Robert Henryſon; and alſo a critique on Shakeſpeare's tragedy on this ſubject, which is replete with judicious obſervations. But whilſt we with pleaſure give our ſuffrage to the general excellence of this chapter, we muſt beg leave to ſtate our opinion, that though in the compariſon of Homer and Shakeſpeare, as delineators of character, Mr. Godwin has clearly pointed out the diſtinctive excellencies of thoſe mighty maſters of the poetic art, he is by no means juſtified in the preference which he gives to the dramatiſt. True it is, that "the Achilles, the Ajax and the Neſtor of Homer, are each of them rather a ſpecies than an individual; and that the Grecian heroes of Shakeſpeare are abſolute men." The ſame may be obſerved of the Apollo Belvedere, when compared with the ſtatue of Dr. Ward, which diſgraces the rooms of the Society of Arts, or of the Venus of Titian, when contraſted with the accurately painted *frows* of Teniers. But what ſhould we think of the taſte of the connoiſſeur who ſhould profeſs to prefer the latter to the former?

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We cannot but regard as very feeble the arguments by which Mr. Godwin in his fourteenth chapter attempts to prove, that Chaucer not only ſtudied at Cambridge, but alſo at Oxford. Theſe arguments are two in number; firſt, the aſſertion of Leland. But Leland has fallen into ſo many palpable miſtakes on the ſubject of Chaucer, that his authority, unſupported by other proof, is of very little weight indeed. Mr. Godwin is ſo conſcious of this, that he informs us, that his principal reaſon for believing that Chaucer ſtudied at Oxford, is the circumſtance of his dedicating his Troilus and Creſſeide to Gower and Strode, two ſcholars *who were probably educated at that univerſity*; at which place *it was moſt natural for him to become acquainted with them.* Thus does Mr. Godwin's belief on this ſubject reſt merely upon the baſis of two hypotheſes. Equally inconcluſive do we eſteem the reaſons which have induced Mr. Godwin to maintain, in oppoſition to the opinion of Mr. Tyrwhit, that Chaucer reſided for ſome time in the univerſity of Paris. And we cannot forbear expreſſing our ſurprize, that whilſt he ſupports the authority of Leland on this point, on the ground of antecedent probability, he ſhould refuſe his aſſent to the venerable antiquarian's aſſertion of the fact of Chaucer's having been a ſtudent of Law, when ſomewhat corroborated by an aſſertion of Mr. Speght's. Is not the antecedent probability at leaſt as ſtrong in the latter caſe as in the former? Was it not as cuſtomary for young Engliſhmen of talents to ſtudy the laws of their country as to repair to the univerſity of Paris? But thus inclined, as the balance of argument appears to be in Mr. Godwin's judgment, with a ſtrange inconſiſtency, whilſt he diſpatches his account of Paris and its univerſity in a ſingle page, he digreſſes to the extent of ten pages into a hiſtory of Engliſh juriſprudence. This diſquiſition he cloſes by the following fanciful application of it to the Life of Chaucer; during the peruſal of which, the reader will have the goodneſs to remember that Mr. G. is of opinion, "that much ſtreſs cannot be laid upon the ſuppoſition of Chaucer's having belonged to the ſociety of the Inner Temple."

"It may be amuſing to the fancy of a reader of Chaucer's works, to repreſent to himſelf the young poet, accoutred in the robes of a lawyer, examining a witneſs, fixing upon him the keenneſs of his eye, addreſſing himſelf with anxiety and expectation to a jury, or exerciſing the ſubtlety of his wit and judgment in the development of one of thoſe quirks by which a client was to be reſcued from the rigour of ſtrict and unfavouring juſtice. Perhaps Chaucer, in the courſe of his legal life, ſaved a thief from the gallows, and gave

gave him a new chance of becoming a decent and uſeful member of ſociety: perhaps by his penetration he diſcerned and demonſtrated that innocence, which to a leſs able pleader would never have been evident, and which a leſs able pleader would never have ſucceeded in reſtoring triumphant to its place in the community and its fair fame. Perhaps Chaucer pleaded before Treſilian and Brember, and lived to know that thoſe men, whoſe fiat had ſilenced his argument, or to whoſe inferiority of underſtanding, it may be, he was obliged to vail his honoured head, were led to the baſeſt ſpecies of execution, amidſt the ſhouts of a brutiſh and ignorant multitude."

If this be the legitimate ſtyle of biography, the leſs an author of tolerable ingenuity knows of any individual whoſe life he undertakes to write, the more particulars he may venture to record of his habits and opinions.

Mr. Godwin refers to the period of Chaucer's ſuppoſed ſtudies in the Univerſity of Paris, and the Inner Temple, the compoſition of the ſtory of Palamon and Arcite, which no longer exiſts in its original ſtate, but which is abridged in the Canterbury Tales, and alſo his tranſlation of the work of Boethius.

"Hitherto Chaucer has appeared only as a private individual, and the anecdotes of his life are ſcanty. We are left to reaſoning and inference, as to the places of his education, and the functions to which he was deſtined. We are now to ſee him in a different light. From the thirtieth year of his age, if not ſooner, to his death, he was a courtier, the counſellor of princes, employed in various negociations and embaſſies, and involved in the factions, contentions, and intrigues of his time."

Mr. Godwin juſtly remarks, that modern times afford but a faint image of the attention with which literature was treated in the fourteenth century. If then, even at a period when literary accompliſhments had loſt that value which reſults from variety of occurrence, Addiſon and Prior were raiſed to diſtinguiſhed offices in the ſtate, in conſequence of their reputation for learning and genius; it is reaſonable to conjecture, that Chaucer was recommended to the notice of Edward III. by his tranſcendent reputation as a poet. Mr. Godwin demonſtrates by the evidence of dates, that it was to that monarch, and not, as has been generally ſuppoſed, to his ſon John of Gaunt, that Chaucer was indebted for his firſt introduction to the Engliſh court; and he has ſucceſsfully vindicated the fame of the hero of Poitiers, as a patron of literature, which has been with too much levity impugned by Mr. Tyrwhit. His remarks on this ſubject muſt approve themſelves to every candid mind. Though we deem the minute deſcription which he gives of the houſe of Chaucer at Woodſtock,

ſtock, as literally viſionary, being founded on a dream of the poet, we agree with him in opinion, that his reſidence in the vicinity of the palace denotes the high favour in which he was held by his ſovereign. We wiſh our limits would allow us to quote Mr. Godwin's deſcription of the Engliſh court at this period, eſpecially his character of Edward III. which is in our opinion drawn with a maſterly hand. But we muſt content ourſelves with referring to it as a part of the work under our conſideration, well worthy of particular attention.

At the period in which Mr. Godwin takes up the hiſtory of the Engliſh court, Edward III. had five ſons: the third of theſe, John earl of Richmond, who is better known by his later title of John of Gaunt, in proceſs of time became the moſt ſteady friend of Chaucer. Mr. Godwin has therefore dedicated to his juvenile hiſtory the whole of his twentieth chapter. As in the account of Chaucer's early days he is compelled by want of materials, which apply to the individual, to enter into a general detail of the education of youths of middling rank in the fourteenth century, ſo the juvenile hiſtory of the earl of Richmond conſiſts of a deduction of particulars relative to the education of a nobleman according to the rules of chivalry. After noticing the initiation of the young prince into the practice of arms in the war againſt France, which commenced in the year 1355, he dwells at conſiderable length upon his courtſhip of his firſt wife the princeſs Blanche, in illuſtration of whoſe character he quotes a variety of paſſages from Chaucer's "Book of the Ducheſſe." The loves of theſe illuſtrious perſonages alſo furniſhed the ſubject of Chaucer's poems, intitled the Parliament of Birds, and the Dream, an entertaining account of which occupies the twenty-firſt and twenty-ſecond chapters of this work. The earl of Richmond was married to the princeſs Blanche at Reading, on Sunday May 19th 1359. In the cloſe of that year Edward with a powerful army invaded the Kingdom of France. On this expedition he was accompanied by his four eldeſt ſons. From a curious document printed in the Appendix to the firſt volume of this work, it appears that Chaucer attended his friend the earl of Richmond to the field of martial glory. As no record is left of the particulars of his proweſs, remembering the ſcene in Weſtminſter-hall which we have quoted above, we did expect that Mr. Godwin would have taſked his imagination for a brilliant picture of his hero, following the bloody traces of his princely protector, hewing down the foe with his ſword, or generouſly expoſing his perſon in defence of his royal maſter. But in this expectation we have been agreeably diſappointed.

It

It ſhould ſeem indeed, that Chaucer was not much attached to the military life. Mr. Godwin, who certainly proves himſelf to be accurately and minutely acquainted with his works, acutely obſerves,

"His ſoul had no delight in the alarms and enterpriſes of the field. Military glory, the univerſal miſtreſs at that time of the enterpriſing and the bold, never captivated his heart. Chaucer is emphatically the poet of peace; and, while the romance writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are not leſs exuberant than Homer in the deſcription of blows and wounds and fighting fields, Chaucer has not proſtituted one line to the praiſe of the faſhionable purſuit. If, in compliance with the mode which univerſally prevailed, he has occaſionally introduced feats of chivalry, we clearly diſcern that he dwells upon them with no earneſt partiality, and willingly leaves them for ſofter and more innocent topics. In his poem, the ſtory of which is involved with the deſtruction of Troy, almoſt the whole tenor of his work reminds us rather of domeſtic and quiet ſcenes. And, when he compliments his patrons in what may be called his laureat compoſitions, it is a courtſhip or a marriage, a perſonal misfortune or a death, which he ſelects as his topic; and not achievements in arms, or the robbery and deſolation of unoffending thouſands. We ſhall be guilty of great injuſtice to Chaucer, if we do not recollect, among his moſt honourable commendations, the feature by which he is thus ſingularly diſtinguiſhed from the whole band of the Greek and Roman bards, his maſters, the Trouveurs and Troubadours his contemporaries, and the Italian poets who came after him and who conſtitute the principal glory of the ſixteenth century."

(To be continued.)

ART. I. *Hiſtory of the Inſurrection of the County of Wexford, A. D.* 1791. *By Edward Hay, Eſq. M. R. I. A.* Dublin, *printed for the Author, by* J. Stockdale. 8vo. pp. 304; with an Appendix. Price 10*s.* 6*d.* 1803.

MR. Hay has prefixed to this work a very appropriate motto,

Periculoſæ plenum opus aleæ
Tractas; et incedis per ignes
Suppoſitos cineri doloſo.

For we can ſcarcely conceive a more hazardous undertaking than ſuch an early detail as the preſent of the cauſes and circumſtances of a civil conteſt, which was carried on by both parties with a degree of fury not to be paralleled in the annals of modern times. Many of the actors in the ſcenes of horror deſcribed in theſe pages muſt be ſtill in exiſtence; and if they imagine

imagine that Mr. Hay has in the ſlighteſt degree miſrepreſented or exaggerated their conduct, they will eſteem themſelves as inveſted with all the rights of injured perſons, rights which they will in all probability be inclined to exerciſe without one jot of abatement. If on the contrary they are conſcious to themſelves that the picture of their actions here held forth to public view is correct, they will be ſenſible of the deteſtation in which they will be held by every friend of humanity; and their knowledge of this fact will ſtimulate them to inflict a ſevere revenge upon the delineator.

As Mr. Hay appears in this work in the character of the narrator of events of many of which he was an eye-witneſs, he has deemed it expedient to give an account of himſelf in an introduction which occupies forty-four pages. From this introduction we learn that he is a deſcendant of a reſpectable Roman Catholic family which has been ſettled in the county of Wexford ſince the reign of Henry the ſecond. Being by the laws of his country denied the benefit of a collegiate education at home, he purſued his ſtudies for ſeveral years in France and Germany. Returning to Ireland with his mind irritated by a ſenſe of his civil degradation as a catholic, he reſolved to exert himſelf to the utmoſt of his power for the liberation of thoſe of his own communion from the political diſabilities by which they had been ſo long diſgraced. For this purpoſe he promoted the convocation of various meetings of the members of the catholic body, aſſiſted in the publication of ſundry ſets of reſolutions, explaining their opinions and principles; and was particularly active in the county of Wexford in procuring ſignatures to a petition on behalf of the catholics, which he and other delegates had the honour to preſent to his Majeſty, April 22d 1795. In the year 1797 he was induced, by circumſtances of a private concern, to reſolve to quit Ireland and go to reſide in America. In purſuance of this deſign he made the neceſſary arrangements in the ſpring of 1798, and in the month of May of the ſame year he took leave of his friends in Dublin and returned to the county of Wexford, for the purpoſe of ſelling that part of his property of which he had not yet diſpoſed. He was at the town of Wexford when the inſurrection broke out, and was of the number of the fugitives who were brought back by the inſurgents from the ſhips in which they had embarked with an intention of making their eſcape into England. Though by this ſtep he had virtually declared himſelf to be no participator in the rebellion, his popularity among the lower orders as a well known and active friend of the catholic cauſe had gained him their reſpect and eſteem. Hence he was ſuffered

to

to be at large when moſt of the other fugitives were committed to cuſtody, and frequently exerted his influence over the multitude to induce them to ſpare the lives of their priſoners. He alſo exerted his utmoſt abilities during the time that the town was in the hands of the rebels for the preſervation of public order and tranquillity. And when the inſurgents thought it expedient to ſurrender the town to the king's forces, Mr. Hay was commiſſioned to preſent to general Lake the terms which they had negotiated with Lord Kingſborough.

The eminence to which Mr. Hay was thus involuntarily raiſed proved in the event to be a very perilous one. It was ſuppoſed, and perhaps naturally, that no one could have had the influence over the inſurgents, which he appeared occaſionally to have poſſeſſed, without being an abettor of their deſigns. He was conſequently arreſted for high treaſon ſoon after the ſurrender of Wexford, and after having, during thirteen months, ſuffered a variety of hardſhips, he was at length liberated by the verdict of a jury, of the beneficial conſequences of which, he aſſerts, that private enmity prompted ſome magiſtrates baſely and wickedly to attempt to deprive him. It is but juſtice to Mr. Hay to declare our opinion, that by the event of his trial, and by the very reſpectable teſtimonies in ſupport of his character, which he adduces in the appendix to this work, he is completely exonerated from the charge of participation in rebellion. At the ſame time we muſt obſerve, that when we conſider him as the profeſſed advocate of the catholic cauſe, and when we recollect that he muſt have ſat down to the compoſition of this work at a time when the remembrance of his wrongs and ſufferings was ſtill ſtrongly impreſſed upon his mind, we cannot expect to find in him that coolneſs of judgment, and that impartiality which are requiſite in the hiſtorian who would do juſtice to the complicated and difficult ſubject of which he profeſſes to treat. We are not therefore ſurprized to find his pages frequently encumbered with hints of petty anecdotes, which ſerve no other purpoſe than to awaken the remembrance of county quarrels, and with ſerious charges and complaints againſt individuals, of whom we have indeed no knowledge, but who appear to have occupied, and may perhaps ſtill occupy, places of eminence in the civil adminiſtration of their country.

We cannot congratulate Mr. Hay on his having by the preſent work attained to any eminence in literary fame. His ſtyle is ſingularly perplexed, and he is frequently betrayed into palpable violations of the rules of grammar. The length of his ſentences, in which one modification of preceding

ing ideas treads ſo rapidly upon the heels of another, that his readers have no time to draw breath, or to conſider, reminds us of the dreadfully-extended periods of lord Clarendon. But he does not, like that noble author, compenſate for his very long ſentences by the intrinſic merit of his remarks. In logical arrangement too he is ſo deficient that by the ill-timed introduction, or by the injudicious ſcattering of his arguments, he diminiſhes the real ſtrength of the cauſe which he wiſhes to defend—The cauſe of the catholics in the county of Wexford.

Mr. Hay's hiſtory commences with a geographical deſcription of that county, a ſubject with which he appears to be intimately acquainted. He then rapidly traces the principal political events which took place in that diſtrict, from the inſtitution of the volunteers of Ireland to the year 1797. Mr. Hay inſiſts upon it, that the ſyſtem of the United Iriſhmen had not, previouſly to this time, made any progreſs worth notice in the county of Wexford. This important point he argues from the following conſiderations, which are not, however, collected by him into one view, but are ſtated in different parts of his work. 1ſt. That there were very few trials of the united men in the aſſizes for that county previously to the breaking out of the rebellion. 2d. That prodigious numbers after the commencement of the inſurrection applied to be ſworn as united men, which would not have been the caſe had the ſyſtem previously exiſted in any conſiderable degree. 3d. That the inſurgents were at firſt totally devoid of organization, of leaders, and of arms. 4th. That in the returns of the numbers of united Iriſhmen throughout the kingdom, which were laid before the Iriſh parliament, no mention is made of any ſocieties of that nature in the county of Wexford. He therefore attributes the inſurrection in that diviſion of Ireland to the exaſperation and terror experienced by its wretched inhabitants in conſequence of the ſoldiery being ſent to live among them at free quarters, and in conſequence of the horrid tortures which they were doomed to ſuffer with a view of compelling them to reveal the ſecrets of preſumed treaſon.

"On the 25th day of April 1798, an aſſembly of twenty-ſeven magiſtrates was held at Gorey, where it was reſolved, that the whole county of Wexford ſhould be forthwith proclaimed; and this accordingly took place on the 27th.—From this period forward many magiſtrates of the county made themſelves conſpicuous in practiſing the ſummary mode of quieting the country, by the infliction of all kinds of torture. They ſeem, indeed, to have emulated or rather rivaled the conduct of the magiſtrates of other counties, who had made trial of the *ſalutary* effects of perſecution ſomewhat ſooner. In

In the ſeveral neighbourhoods of Roſs, Enniſcorthy, and Gorey, the people ſuffered moſt, as in each of theſe towns a magiſtrate ſtarted up eager for the glorious diſtinction of outſtripping all others, each by his own ſuperior deeds of death, deflagration, and torture! but it is to be obſerved, that none of theſe men had ever before poſſeſſed either talents or reſpectability ſufficient to entitle him to take a leading part; yet, if burning houſes, whipping, and half-hanging numbers, hanging ſome all out, and ſhooting others, with attendant atrocities, conſtitute the characteriſtic of loyal and good magiſtrates, they muſt be allowed ſtrong claim to eminence. In the mean time, it muſt be obſerved alſo, that ſuch proceedings, however ſanctioned, are contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, a principal part of the excellence of which is the excluſion of all torture. In all the riots and diſturbances that took place in England, does it appear in any one inſtance, that an infliction of torture was ever attempted? Yet have we heard of aſſociations there, as alarming in their tendency as any that can be imputed to United Iriſhmen, although no one has been found poſſeſſed of ſufficient hardihood there to try this deſperate experiment. Would the moſt powerful, the richeſt, or the moſt violent man in England, be hazardous enough to treat the meaneſt ſubject with the barbarous ſeverity practiſed in numberleſs inſtances on reſpectable as well as humble individuals in Ireland? the attempt would be too dangerous. I apprehend the reſult would prove, that the people would riſe in a maſs in reſiſtance to ſuch oppreſſive treatment, and, it is ſubmitted to the determination of the candid and impartial, if the feelings of the people of England would not yield to ſuch tyranny without meeting it with the moſt violent oppoſition, whether it be not natural to ſuppoſe, that it muſt have rouſed the reſentments of the people of Ireland?—I am firmly perſuaded, that the conduct of the magiſtrates before alluded to (and of ſome others not entitled to quite ſo much renown in this cauſe,) ſupported by the yeomen under their controul, together with the co-operation of the military, occaſioned, or rather forced the riſing of the people in the county of Wexford. While I endeavour to eſtabliſh the truth of this aſſertion, I beg the reader's attention to the particular dates of the ſeveral outrages, and of the reſpective periods at which different parts of the county joined the inſurgents, as it will be neceſſary to take them in regular order, to form an adequate and impartial opinion.

"The proclamation of the county of Wexford having given greater ſcope to the ingenuity of magiſtrates to deviſe means of quelling all ſymptoms of rebellion, as well as of uſing every exertion to procure diſcoveries; they ſoon fell to burning of houſes wherein pikes or other offenſive weapons were diſcovered, no matter how brought there: but they did not ſtop here, for the dwellings of ſuſpected perſons, and thoſe from which any of the inhabitants were found to be abſent at night were alſo conſumed. This circumſtance of abſence from the houſes very generally prevailed through the country, although there were the ſtricteſt orders forbidding it. This was occaſioned at firſt, as was before obſerved, from apprehenſion

of the Orangemen, but afterwards proceeded from the actual experience of torture by the people, from the yeomen and magiſtrates. Some too abandoned their homes for fear of being whipped, if, on being apprehended, confeſſions ſatisfactory to the magiſtrates could either be given or extorted, and this infliction many perſons ſeemed to fear more than death itſelf. Many unfortunate men who were taken in their own houſes, were ſtrung up as it were to be hanged, but were let down now and then to try if ſtrangulation would oblige them to become informers. After theſe and the like experiments, ſeveral perſons languiſhed for ſome time, and at length periſhed in conſequence of them. Smiths and carpenters, whoſe aſſiſtance was conſidered indiſpenſable in the fabrication of pikes, were pointed out, on evidence of their trades, as the firſt and fitteſt objects of torture. But the ſagacity of ſome magiſtrates became at length ſo acute, from habit and exerciſe, that they *diſcerned* an United Iriſhman even at the firſt glance; and their zeal never ſuffered any perſon, whom they deigned to honour with ſuch diſtinction, to paſs off without convincing proof of their attention."

On the 23d day of May 1798, the county magiſtrates iſſued a proclamation, commanding the people, under pain of military execution, to bring in their concealed arms within the ſpace of fourteen days. From the words of this proclamation it might have been ſuppoſed that for the time above ſpecified the people would be indulged with a reſpite from magiſterial ſeverity. But it appears that ſuch were not the intentions of the friends of government.

" In Enniſcorthy, Roſs, and Gorey, ſeveral perſons were not only put to the torture in the uſual manner, but a greater number of houſes were burnt, and meaſures of the ſtrongeſt coercion were practiſed, although the people continued to flock in to the different magiſtrates for protections. Mr. Perry of Inch, a proteſtant gentleman, was ſeized on and brought a priſoner to Gorey, guarded by the North Cork Militia, one of whom, the noted ſerjeant, nicknamed Tom the Devil, gave him a woeful experience of his ingenuity and adroitneſs at deviſing torment. As a ſpecimen of his *ſçavoir faire*, he cut off the hair of his head very cloſely, but the ſign of the croſs from the front to the back, and tranſverſely from ear to ear, ſtill cloſer; and probably a pitched cap not being in readineſs, gunpowder was mixed through the hair, which was then ſet on fire, and the ſhocking proceſs repeated, until every atom of hair that remained could be eaſily pulled out by the roots; and ſtill a burning candle was continually applied, until the entire was completely ſinged away, and the head left totally and miſerably bliſtered!

" At Carnew, things were carried to ſtill greater lengths; for, independent of burning, whipping, and torture in all ſhapes, on Friday the 25th of May, twenty-eight priſoners were brought out of the place of confinement, and deliberately ſhot in a ball-alley by the yeomen, and a party of the Antrim militia; the infernal deed being

ing ſanctioned by the preſence of their officers! Many of the men thus inhumanly butchered had been confined on mere ſuſpicion!!!

The conſequence of this ſyſtem of coercion was, that early on the morning of the 27th of May the populace aſſembled in great numbers on the hill of Oulard, diſtant about ten miles from Wexford. Here they were attacked by Colonel Foote, at the head of a ſmall body of troops, who were ſoon defeated with conſiderable loſs. On the 28th, the rebels, after a bloody conteſt, made themſelves maſters of Enniſcorthy. The retreat of the garriſon of that place to Wexford filled the inhabitants of the latter town with conſternation. A body of the inſurgents having encamped at the Three Rocks, a commanding eminence about three miles from Wexford, that place was on the 30th precipitately evacuated by the king's forces, who proceeded with great rapidity to Dungannon fort, marking the line of their march with the ſlaughter of the inhabitants and the conflagration of their dwellings. In the confuſion which enſued upon the evacuation of the town, Mr. Hay endeavoured to make his eſcape on board a veſſel which was ready to ſail for England, but he was unfortunately prevented from accompliſhing his purpoſe by the failure of wind and tide. He continued on board the veſſel, however, till he was compelled by the rebels to return to the town. Of the melancholy circumſtances which attended his landing, he gives the following account;

" Among thoſe brought on ſhore from the ſhips, was Mr. John Boyd, brother to captain James Boyd of the Wexford cavalry. He was immediately recogniſed, and he and his family being obnoxious to the people, he run off on landing, was chaſed, overtaken, piked, and left for dead, but he lived in excruciating agony until the next morning, when he expired. I had been brought out of one of the ſhips myſelf, and on landing, was proceeding through the general confuſion, when arriving near the bull-ring, a man of the name of George Sparrow, a butcher from Enniſcorthy, chaſed by the people through the ſtreets, ran up to me and claſped me round the body, imploring protection—beſeeching I might ſave him. I inſtantly endeavoured, as much as in my power, to give him ſuccour, and to defend him by extending my arms and body over him, while ſwords and pikes were pointed and brandiſhed for his deſtruction; but my endeavours proving ineffectual, and rather dangerous to myſelf, and the unfortunate man perceiving I could not afford the protection I intended, burſt from me, and while I lay proſtrate in the ſtreet, occaſioned by his effort to get off, he had not run many yards when he was deprived of exiſtence. Some ladies who were ſo ſituated at the inſtant, as to be ſpectators of the ſcene, have ſince aſſured me, that they thought I had alſo been killed at that moment; and conſidering the dreadful circumſtances, I think it moſt providential, that when thrown down,

I was not regarded as the devoted victim by the infuriate populace.

" To deſcribe my feelings on this occaſion, would be utterly impoſſible. Uſhered into the town againſt my will, to witneſs, in the firſt onſet, ſuch a ſpecimen of popular vengeance, and naturally imagining that acts of the like violence were perpetrating in every quarter of the town, I could have but little expectation of eſcape, particularly when the dreadful denunciation reſounded in my ears, that the people would put every one to death who would dare to decline joining them; and indeed, in conſequence of this menacing cry, many gentlemen who boaſt of loyal acts, (the very contrary of truth,) I have obſerved to have gone farther on the oppoſite ſide than could be conſidered, either ſince or before, conſiſtent with their honour or their ſafety."

As ſome degree of order is recognized as neceſſary even among the moſt ſavage barbarians, the inſurgent rabble appointed as their commander in chief Beauchamp Bagnal Harvey, Eſq. who, it is probable, was raiſed to that fatal eminence in conſequence of his having been lately committed to the county gaol on a charge of high treaſon. Under his direction and that of the principal inhabitants a tolerable police was eſtabliſhed in Wexford.

On the 2d of June, Lord Kingſborough, Colonel of the North Cork militia, and two of his officers, were taken by a rebel cruizer at the mouth of Wexford harbour, and conducted to the town where they were kept in cloſe cuſtody.

The rebel chiefs, fluſhed with their late ſucceſſes, on the evening of the 4th of June conducted their irregular hordes to Roſs, which town they attacked on the enſuing day with great impetuoſity. After a battle of ſeveral hours, the inſurgents drove the king's troops out of the place, of which they took poſſeſſion: but being elated by their victory, and fatigued by their exertions, they ſoon incapacitated themſelves for further ſervice by the immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors. Of this circumſtance the king's forces inſtantly availed themſelves, and returning to the charge, in their turn drove the rebels from the town, of which the latter made two deſperate though vain endeavours to regain poſſeſſion. The fugitive inſurgents, who at an early period fled from this engagement, were the miſcreants who wreaked their ever-memorable vengeance on eighty loyaliſt priſoners confined in a barn at Scullabogue. Mr. Hay ſtates that to be the number of victims immolated on this occaſion, in oppoſition to the accounts of other writers which repreſent them as amounting to 221. Subſequent defeats of the inſurgents incited them to ſimilar exceſſes at Wexford, of which Mr. Hay was a melancholy witneſs; and the deſcription of which conſtitutes the moſt authentic

thentic and intereſting part of his work. Mr. Hay ſeems to have been early aware of the blood-thirſty intentions of one Dixon, a principal promoter of the maſſacre of Wexford. Theſe intentions he ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to counteract; but, ſays he,

" All intreaties and remonſtrances to ſooth or calm the exaſperated multitude were in vain: however, continuing ſtill on horſeback, I endeavoured to addreſs, explain, excuſe, and expoſtulate, and in the courſe of theſe attempts, many pikes were raiſed againſt me, and ſeveral guns and piſtols cocked and pointed at me, and vengeance vowed againſt me as an *Orangeman;* for they vociferated that I had diſtinguiſhed myſelf by no other feat, but activity in protecting their enemies the Orangemen; that I had never attended their camps, or I would be a judge of their miſeries by the view of general deſolation: one man would roar out, that I had not been flogged as he had been; another pathetically related, that his houſe had been burned, and he had been driven to beggary with his whole family, and he would have the death of the perſon that injured him; a third lamented the death of his father, another that of his brother; others of their children; and the appeal was made to me, to decide on all their various ſufferings and misfortunes; while they perſeveringly declared they only wanted to be avenged of thoſe who had actually done them wrong, and I was aſked, if ſimilarly circumſtanced, would I not take revenge for ſuch injuries as theirs? All this I endeavoured to anſwer, and ſtrove to appeaſe the wrath of popular phrenzy, by alleging that the laws of God were indefeaſible, and that they dictated that good ſhould be returned for evil.

" This had ſome little effect for the inſtant; but it was, indeed, but momentary. I, however, continued ſtill unwearied in my exertions, particularly endeavouring to preſerve my dear and beloved friend, Mr. Turner, whoſe death and that of a Mr. Gainſort, the populace declared indiſpenſable to their ſatisfaction, as they had led out the army againſt them on Whitſunday, and had burnt their houſes. Although I knew that my friend had burned a houſe (of which he moſt ſincerely and heartily repented) yet, I appealed to the multitude, if any one could prove the fact alleged againſt him, and no one appearing to come forward for that purpoſe, I ſeized on the glimpſe of hope I now entertained of his ſafety, thinking that his life might be preſerved by demanding a trial, on which, if no proof of criminality could be adduced, it was natural to conclude, that his ſafety muſt be certain. I then made the experiment; but was anſwered by this univerſal cry, " What trial did we or any of our friends and relations obtain when ſome were hanged or ſhot, and others whipped or otherwiſe tortured; our houſes and properties burnt and deſtroyed, and ourſelves hunted like mad dogs?" But I rejoined with ſome effect: " Do you mean to compare yourſelves to the perpetrators of ſuch deeds, or would you diſgrace your conduct by ſuch barbarous acts?" This appeal to their principles produced the conſequence,

providentially, as I fondly hoped, of their conſenting to a trial, but on the expreſs condition that I ſhould retire and be preſent on no account. At this critical moment, I perceived a perſon near me whom I had induced to return from the Three-Rocks, and who, true to his promiſe of every aſſiſtance in his power, after a variety of difficulty, had got cloſe by me, together with ſome others of the like benevolent diſpoſitions, to whom I ſtooped down from on horſeback to liſten to the arguments they humanely ſuggeſted; and I muſt declare, that I derived great courage from their preſence and advice to perſiſt in my entreaties, in the courſe of which, I find, on cool reflection, that I underwent great danger, of which I was by no means ſo ſenſible at the time, until afterward informed by many, who were kind enough to hold me in regard, while they prevented different perſons from ſhooting me. I entreated the particular perſon before mentioned, to procure men whoſe humanity could not be doubted to try the priſoners, and when he ſhould have ſucceeded to give me notice, as I would endeavour in the mean time to delay the people who were inſiſting that I ſhould retire, " as" they declared, " I would go to the devil to ſave Turner." I did promiſe to retire as ſoon as I could have proper perſons appointed to ſit in trial over the priſoners, when my humane friend beckoned to me, ſignifying that he was ready. I then went into the committee-houſe where although captain Dixon, and Morgan Byrne, whoſe ſanguinary diſpoſition I was well aware of, inſiſted that they ſhould be on the trial, I could not oppoſe their appointment: but, however, four out of ſeven, which was the number choſen, humanely offered themſelves, having previouſly promiſed me that they would not conſent to put any one to death. I made uſe of another ſtratagem, by propoſing an oath, that in their proceedings they would not be guided by public prejudice, but by juſtice and the evidence before them. This was with a view, if poſſible, to ſecure the aſſiſtance and co-operation even of the moſt ſanguinary, and the ſeven were accordingly ſworn to that effect. By this contrivance, and the ſolemn aſſurance of the four perſons, that they would not conſent to the condemnation of any one, I fondly hoped I had ſecured the life of my friend from danger; and being fully confident of the ſucceſs of my plan, I left its ſubſequent management to a perſon on whoſe ſincerity I could rely, and to whoſe worth I am ſorry at not having the liberty to do juſtice by naming him; and having made ſure of ſuch a friend to humanity, I thought it moſt prudent to retire, in order to pleaſe the people, the inclinations of many of whom I had now thwarted for hours; and I had good reaſon to ſuppoſe they would then be more inclined to liſten to a new man.

" The ſeven perſons appointed to ſit on the trial proceeded from the committee-houſe to the goal, where they went into a ſmall bed-chamber, inſide the goaler's kitchen in which captain Dixon had left five priſoners whom he had doomed as the firſt victims for condemnation, but he here met with an oppoſition of which he was not until that moment at all aware. The members of this kind of popular tribunal divided, three were for death; but the other four, true to their promiſe,

promise, and unwarped in their humane inclinations, firmly declared, that they considered themselves merely appointed to prevent massacre, and to save the lives of the prisoners, and would not attend or listen to any representation from Dixon or his fellows. This produced a very violent altercation, and great danger was to be apprehended by the friends of humanity, as Peter Byrne actually rushed into the room, and threatened them with instant destruction, if they did not agree to the death of the prisoners. Some others of Dixon's blood-thirsty associates had got into the goal, and were selecting such of the prisoners as they pleased to doom fit objects of destruction; but although Dixon's own designs cannot be doubted of ravening for blood, and that he was willing and eager to attempt any thing to gain his object; yet, as the four men resolutely persevered in refusing to agree to the death of any man at such a crazy and phrenzical moment, he was going to retire from a place, where his sanguinary views and cruel sentiments were opposed and over-ruled, and it is more than probable, that the sanguinary, retarded for hours in the outset, would have cooled in their fury, and have recovered sentiments of humanity sufficient to prevent them from putting any one to death, were it not for two informers, Charles Jackson, a carver and gilder *, and ——— O'Conner, an organist, both of whom had not long resided in Wexford, and who were cast off from the society of the other prisoners then in the goal. These, as ill fate would have it, threw themselves on their knees to captain Dixon, acknowledged that they were *Orangemen*, and ready to give every information, provided their lives might be spared. Dixon, before in despair, at finding his sanguinary hopes baffled and blasted, readily agreed to their proposal, as it afforded a new prospect of perpetrating his infernal designs. He instantly addressed the people, assembled before the goal, stating, that two Orangemen had become informers, and that proceeding to trial was therefore unnecessary, as the evidence of these men must be conclusive. It may easily be conceived, that, on this communication, horribly vociferated by Dixon, and re-echoed by his wife, the populace became ungovernable! The people instantly approved of his plan, and demanded that all Orangemen should be sent out to them; but his first care was to turn the men who opposed his bloody schemes out of the goal, of which he and his savage associates took complete possession. Kenneth Matthewson, as one of the persons denounced by the informers, was then turned out and immediately shot at the goal door. John Atkins, a painter and glazier, was another against whom they gave information; and he being one of those whom Dixon had originally brought down for trial, as destined victims for immolation, he was still in the goaler's kitchen, when, hearing himself called for by name, he ran into the inner room and hid under the bed, where he lay concealed until all danger was over. While these unforeseen but melancholy events were passing, I had retired

* The Author of Wexford Cruelties.

in full assurance that the people would be appeased; and notwithstanding that they had peremptorily forbidden my being present at any trial, yet I was in hopes, as appearing no longer on horseback, that I might get into the goal unobserved, and endeavour to assist those who had undertaken the humane and philanthropic task of protection. But great was my amazement, indeed, at finding the most violent threats uttered against me, as I approached the multitude. I therefore thought it most prudent to suffer myself to be led by two young women, who hurried me into a house, the door of which happened to be open, and while they were explaining to me the cause of this sudden and unexpected tumult, a shot was fired, and it was instantly rumoured through the crowd, that colonel Lehunte was killed; upon which I could not help exclaiming that they had put an innocent man to death! I then declared my determination to go out and endeavour to stop such a scene of butchery. On this a man who knew me seized upon me and positively insisted I should not leave the house, as just before I had come up, he had heard the people vow vengeance against me, in so vehement a manner, that he was certain I must inevitably perish, should I attempt to interfere. On finding that it was not possible for me to do any good, the share of courage I had hitherto felt quite forsook me at this juncture: I burst into tears, and sunk into a state of insensibility! When the mob had in some degree dispersed, I was supported homewards by this good-natured man, but was obliged from faintness to stop twice on the way before I reached my lodgings."

After some reflections on the danger incident to those who endeavour to check the violence of popular fury, Mr. Hay thus proceeds.

"After the death of Mathewson, captain Dixon and his wife proposed, that those who were to be put to death, should be brought down to the bridge, whither the mob retired. Eighteen intended for execution were first conducted from the gaol, under a strong guard, headed by Dixon, flanked by the two orange informers, whom he wished to exhibit as the grand support of his conduct. These informers were brought into a public billiard-room on the custom-house quay (and not at all to the bridge, to which it is adjacent) where they underwent an examination, at which Dixon presided. It is probable, that these informers did not give information against every one that was put to death on this occasion; but it is a certain truth, and an evident fact, that the information of these men was esteemed of such consequence, even by such a sanguinary tribunal, that their services saved their lives.

"The fate of the prisoners was quickly decided, on their being conducted to the bridge, as the proceedings concerning them were summary indeed. It was asked, did any one know any good action of the intended victim sufficient to save his life? and if no answer was made, the assertion of an individual of some deed against the people was conclusive evidence of guilt, and immediately death was the consequence, on his primary denunciation by captain Dixon.

Some

Some, however, eſcaped with their lives, on the interference of ſome perſon ſtepping forward in their favour. A few were ſhot, but the greater number ſuffered by being piked, and ſome of thoſe with aggravated circumſtances of barbarity. All the bodies were thrown over the bridge, but neither ſtripped, nor their pockets rifled, which I ſhould ſcarcely have believed, but that I have been poſitively aſſured that watches and money were found upon them when afterward diſcovered. Captain Dixon ſent from time to time for different perſons to the ſeveral places of confinement, and at intervals came out to announce further diſcoveries from the informers. This admirably ſuited his helliſh purpoſe of putting all the priſoners to death; which he might unfortunately have effected, but that Providence was at length pleaſed to interpoſe, while the minds of the populace ſeemed wrought up to the moſt deſperate pitch of cruelty! The Reverend Mr. Corrin, who had been abſent from the town the whole of the day on parochial duty, had but juſt returned when he was ſent for by Mr. Kellett, then on his defence at the bridge. Thither the reverend gentleman inſtantly repaired, and, having thrown himſelf on his knees, entreated they might join him in prayer, when he ſupplicated the Almighty to ſhew the ſame mercy to the people as they would ſhew to their priſoners; and with that he addreſſed them in ſuch feeling, pathetic, and moving language, that he thereby ſaved the lives of ſeveral who had been juſt ordered to the bridge from the market-houſe by Dixon. While the Rev. Mr. Corrin was on the fatal ſpot, Mr. Eſmonde Kyan, who was wounded in the ſhoulder at the battle of Arklow, lay at the moſt excruciating torture in a houſe at Ferry-Bank, on the country ſide of the wooden-bridge, but on hearing what was going forward, he inſtantly got out of bed, ran to the fatal ſpot, and, by his animated conduct and addreſs reſcued Mr. Newton King, and Captain Milward of the Wexford militia, with ſome others, from the fury of the populace. General Edward Roche, alſo, by his human interference, ſnatched Mr. James Goodall and others from the jaws of death; while different other perſons of inferior note, and ſome even of the lower claſs, interpoſed ſo as to ſave one or other of their neighbours; and at length it pleaſed God that this horrid butchery ceaſed."

In contradiction to the commonly-received opinion, Mr. Hay aſſerts, that the number of people who periſhed in this maſſacre did not exceed thirty-ſix.

Soon after the perpetration of theſe atrocities, the ruffians who had been engaged in them were perſuaded by the Rev. Edward Roache (who after the unſucceſsful attack upon Roſs had ſuperſeded Mr. Harvey in the command of the rebel forces) to quit the town for the purpoſe of oppoſing the royal army, which was faſt advancing to encloſe them on every ſide. On their departure the inhabitants on the 21ſt of June ſurrendered themſelves to Lord Kingſborough, who promiſed protection in perſons and property to all, except murderers and

and thoſe who had inſtigated to murder. When, however, theſe terms were communicated to General Lake, the commander in chief of the royal forces, he refuſed to ratify them, and immediately after taking poſſeſſion of Wexford, he proceeded to the infliction of thoſe puniſhments upon the leaders of the inſurrection which are in ſuch caſes uſually deemed neceſſary to the ſupport of legitimate authority.

Such is the ſubſtance of what we learn from the peruſal of Mr. Hay's book, which though written too much in the ſpirit of a partizan, contains many excellent reflections; and affords to the politician matter for his moſt ſerious meditations. As exhibiting an account of important tranſactions of which the author was himſelf an eye-witneſs, it will in all probability claim the reſpectful attention of the future hiſtorian. In this point of view, and in this only it appears to us to be valuable. In the narration of facts which he has collected from the teſtimony of others, Mr. Hay is far inferior in clearneſs of arrangement and perſpicuity of ſtyle to the Rev. Mr. Gordon. But we feel a lively intereſt when he proceeds to deſcribe the terrific ſcenes, of which he may ſo juſtly ſay,

——" *quæque ipſe miſerrima vidi*
Et quorum pars magna fui."

ART. III. *Natural Theology: or, the Evidences of the Exiſtence and Attributes of the Deity, collected from the Appearances of Nature. By William Paley, D. D. Archdeacon of Carliſle. Fifth Edition.* pp. 586. Faulder, boards, price 9*s.* 1803.

THERE is no literary perſon, and ſcarcely any well-educated youth, that is unacquainted with the celebrity which Dr. Paley has already acquired by his treatiſe on the Principles of Moral and Political Philoſophy, and his View of the Evidences of Chriſtianity: the work before us, was, in the opinion of the author, alone wanting to form the reſult of his labours into a ſyſtem, which now conſiſts of the evidences of natural religion; the evidences of revealed religion; and an account of the duties that reſult from both. The firſt part of this plan, being the laſt in order of publication, is that which claims our notice.

To beings capable of reflection and reaſoning, no ſubject can be of equal importance to their happineſs with that which enables them to trace their origin to a Firſt Cauſe. If the mind be uninformed, and unconvinced of the exiſtence of a Deity, it muſt be deſtitute of thoſe principles of ſupport and conſo-

lation, of which the calamities of life ſo frequently ſtand in need.

The object to which Dr. Paley has applied himſelf, and which he has ſucceſsfully attained, in his Natural Theology, is to trace up the ſeveral works of creation to a wiſe, benevolent, and deſigning Deity: to ſhow, that upon no other theory can the production, and well-adapted conformation of thoſe things with which we are moſt familiarly acquainted, be rationally accounted for. Although there may be difficulties which will attach to the diligent inquirer, yet, thoſe that occur to the believer in the exiſtence and attributes of a deſigning Firſt Cauſe, are in no compariſon ſo great as thoſe which muſt beſet the diſciple of Atheiſm. The difficulties which embarraſs the former, are only ſuch as might be expected in reaſoning, a priori, on the ſubject; they reſult from the impoſſibility of the finite creature, ever being able to comprehend the infinite Creator. With more juſtice might it be expected, that the ox which drags the plough ſhould underſtand the object of tilling the land at particular ſeaſons, and ſowing it with a certain kind of grain, than that man ſhould be able to give ſatisfactory reaſons for all the ſeveral parts of the divine government. And it muſt be regretted, that people do not argue in the ſame way, in the moſt important as they do in the more trivial concerns of life. In the latter, they are almoſt always contented, in a choice of difficulties, to adhere to that courſe which preſents the feweſt; but in forming opinions reſpecting a Firſt Cauſe, there have, in all ages, been found perſons who ſeemed to expect, that no objection ſhould oppoſe itſelf in their ſpeculations, and have refuſed their aſſent to the moſt intereſting of all doctrines, becauſe they could not form perfectly ſatisfactory conceptions of the nature and manner of the Divine Exiſtence.

The firſt part of the NATURAL THEOLOGY, is taken up in ſtating and applying the argument; with an outline of which we ſhall preſent the reader.

"If in croſſing a heath," ſays Dr. Paley, "I pitch my foot againſt a ſtone, and were aſked how it came there, I might anſwer, that for any thing I knew to the contrary, it might have lain there for ever, nor would it be eaſy to ſhow the abſurdity of this anſwer. But ſuppoſe I had found a watch, and a like inquiry had been made, I ſhould hardly think of the anſwer which I had before given, becauſe, when we come to inſpect the watch, we perceive (what we could not diſcover in the ſtone) that its ſeveral parts are framed and put together for a purpoſe, e. g. that they are ſo formed and adjuſted as to produce motion, and that motion ſo regulated as to point out the hour of the day; that, if the ſeveral parts had been differently ſhaped, or of a different ſize from what they are, or placed

placed after any other manner, or in any other order than that in which they are placed, either no motion at all would have been produced, or none that would have anſwered the uſe that is ſerved by it. To reckon up a few of the plaineſt of theſe parts, and of their offices, all tending to one reſult: We ſee a cylindrical box, containing a coiled elaſtic ſpring, which, by its endeavour to relax itſelf, turns round the box; and a flexible chain communicating the action of the ſpring from the box to the fuſee. We then find a ſeries of wheels, the teeth of which catch in, and apply to each other, conducting the motion from the fuſee to the balance, and from the balance to the pointer; and at the ſame time, by the ſize and ſhape of thoſe wheels, ſo regulating that motion, as to terminate in cauſing an index, by an equable and meaſured progreſſion, to paſs over a given ſpace in a given time. We take notice that the wheels are made of braſs, in order to keep them from ruſt; the ſprings of ſteel, no other metal being ſo elaſtic; that over the face of the watch there is placed a glaſs, a material employed in no other part of the work, but in the room of which, if there had been any other than a tranſparent ſubſtance, the hour could not be ſeen without opening the caſe. This mechaniſm being obſerved and underſtood, the inference is inevitable, that the watch muſt have had a maker; that there muſt have exiſted, at ſome time and at ſome place, an artificer or artificers who formed it for the purpoſe which we find it actually to anſwer.

"Suppoſe, in the next place, that the perſon who found the watch ſhould diſcover, that in addition to its other properties, it poſſeſſed the unexpected property of producing, in the courſe of its movements, another watch like itſelf; that it contained within it a mechaniſm, a ſyſtem of parts, a mould for inſtance, or a complex adjuſtment of laths, files, and other tools, evidently and ſeparately calculated for this purpoſe; what other effect ought this ſecond diſcovery to have upon the mind, but to increaſe the admiration of the ſkill which had been employed in the formation of ſuch a machine. Or ſhall it lead to an oppoſite concluſion, viz: that no art or ſkill whatever, had been concerned in the buſineſs? Can this be maintained without abſurdity? Yet, this is Atheiſm: for every indication of contrivance, every manifeſtation of deſign, which exiſted in the watch, exiſts in the works of nature; with the difference on the ſide of nature, of being greater and more, and that in a degree which exceeds all computation."

In the application of the general argument thus ſet forth, the author appeals to the formation of the eye and the ear, and to the generation and ſucceſſion of plants and animals. In the firſt inſtance, he compares an eye with a teleſcope, and in examining the ſubject he contends, that there is the ſame proof that the eye was made for viſion, as there is that a teleſcope was made for aſſiſting it, as both are formed on the ſame principles, and adjuſted to the laws by which the tranſmiſſion and refraction of rays of light are regulated.

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The whole of this argument is ſo well conducted, and rendered ſo very perſpicuous, that it cannot fail of exciting emotions of pleaſure and ſurprize in every attentive reader. A ſmall part of it we ſhall tranſcribe:

"In conſidering viſion as achieved by means of an image formed at the bottom of the eye, we can never reflect without wonder upon the ſmallneſs, yet correctneſs of the picture, the ſubtilty of the touch, the fineneſs of the lines. A landſcape of five or ſix ſquare leagues is brought into a ſpace of half an inch diameter; yet the multitude of objects which it contains, are all preſerved, are all diſcriminated in their magnitudes, poſitions, figures, colours. The proſpect from Hampſtead hill is compreſſed into the compaſs of a ſixpence, yet circumſtantially repreſented. A ſtage coach travelling at its ordinary ſpeed for half an hour, paſſes, in the eye, only over one twelfth of an inch, yet is this change of place in the image diſtinctly perceived throughout its whole progreſs: for it is only by means of that perception, that the motion of the coach itſelf is made ſenſible to the eye. If any thing can abate our admiration of the ſmallneſs of the viſual tablet, compared with the extent of viſion, it is a reflection, which the view of nature leads us, every hour, to make, viz: that in the hands of the Creator, great and little are nothing."

Our author is not more ſucceſsful in ſtating and juſtifying his own argument, than he is in anſwering the moſt ſubtile and plauſible reaſons, invented by thoſe who would confound the works of creation, with the effects of chance: or who contend that the ſeveral parts of animated nature were not intended for the uſe to which they are applied, but that the uſe aroſe out of the parts: or, who chooſe to refer every thing to a principle of order in nature: or, who would bring forward to view our own ignorance, or rather the general imperfection of our knowledge of nature, to ſhake the confidence which we repoſe in the evidences of Divine agency.

The general argument being thus amply ſtated and freed from objections, Dr. Paley proceeds to conſider the mechanical and immechanical parts and functions of animals and vegetables, in which, he contends, that though it is not correctly true, nor wholly falſe, that an animal is a machine, yet that there is a mechaniſm in animals, which is as properly ſuch, as it is in machines made by art; that this mechaniſm is intelligible and certain, and demonſtrates intention and contrivance. To the mechanical, he ſubjoins an ingenious and ſtriking account of the *chemical* part of our frames, which if it do not afford the ſame ſpecies of argument as that which mechaniſm admits, may at leaſt afford one in the higheſt degree ſatisfactory. Thus the *gaſtric* juice is ſelected as an inſtance of an almoſt univerſal *menſtruum*, which in a few

few hours, reduces a vaſt variety of different ſubſtances, to one uniform pulp, milk, or mucilage. It ſeizes every thing, it diſſolves almoſt every thing that comes in its way. *Secretion* is conſidered as a ſemi-chemical and ſemi-mechanical function, exceedingly important and diverſified in its effects, but obſcure in its proceſs and in its apparatus. The account of this function of the animal body is ſo well related that we ſhall lay it before the reader.

"The importance of the ſecretory organs is but too well atteſted by the diſeaſes which an exceſſive, a deficient, or a vitiated ſecretion, is almoſt ſure of producing. A ſingle ſecretion being wrong, is enough to make life miſerable, or ſometimes to deſtroy it. Nor is the variety leſs than the importance. From one and the ſame blood, about twenty different fluids are ſeparated, in their taſte, ſmell, colour, and conſiſtency, the moſt unlike one another that is poſſible: thick, thin, ſalt, bitter, ſweet: and if from our own we paſs to other ſpecies of animals, we find among their ſecretions, not only the moſt various, but the moſt oppoſite properties; the moſt nutricious aliment, the deadlieſt poiſon, the ſweeteſt perfumes, the moſt fetid odours. Of theſe, the greater part, as the gaſtric juice, the ſaliva, the bile, the ſlippery mucilage which lubricates the joints, the tears which moiſten the eye, the wax which defends the ear, are, after they are ſecreted, made uſe of in the animal economy; are evidently ſubſervient, and are actually contributing to the utilities of the animal itſelf. Other fluids ſeem to be ſeparated only to the rejected. That this alſo is neceſſary, is ſhown by the conſequence of the ſeparation, being long ſuſpended, which is diſeaſe and death. Akin to ſecretion, if not the ſame thing, is aſſimilation, by which one and the ſame blood is converted into bone, muſcular fleſh, nerves, membranes, and tendons; things as different as the wood and iron, canvaſs and cordage, of which a ſhip with its furniture is compoſed. We have no operation of art, wherewith exactly to compare all this, for no other reaſon, perhaps, than that all operations of art are exceeded by it. No chemical election, no chemical analyſis or reſolution of a ſubſtance into its conſtituent parts, no mechanical ſifting or diviſion, that we are acquainted with, in perfection or variety, come up to animal ſecretion."

In conſidering the mechanical arrangement in the human frame, ſuch examples are ſelected as are capable of explanation without plates, or the uſe of technical language. As proofs of complicated contrivance, and the moſt artificial conſtruction, in the *bones*, are mentioned the vertebræ of the human neck; the arm between the elbow and the wriſt; the ſpine or back bone; the reciprocal enlargement and contraction of the cheſt; the knee-pan, and the ſhoulder-blade. To theſe and to almoſt all the bones belong joints, every one of which is a curioſity, and ſtrictly mechanical. In this part of

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our ſubject we might ſelect paſſages of great intereſt, and capable of affording much uſeful inſtruction, but we paſs on to the

Muſcles, which, with their tendons, are ſhown to be the inſtruments by which animal motion is performed, upon principles as ſtrictly mechanical, as that of the wire and ſtrings of a puppet. This chapter not only treats of the ſtructure of muſcles in general, but of certain ſpecies of muſcles, and ſingle muſcles, which bear marks of mechanical contrivance, appropriate as well as particular; and in the courſe of the diſcuſſion the author oppoſes the aſſertion, "that whenever nature attempts to work two or more purpoſes by one inſtrument, ſhe does both or all imperfectly;" from among other inſtances, that of the tongue is referred to, regarded as an inſtrument of ſpeech, of taſte, and of deglutition, ſince by the inſtrumentality of this one organ, nine hundred and ninety-nine perſons out of a thouſand talk, and taſte, and ſwallow very well. The celerity and preciſion of muſcular motion are exemplified in the execution of many ſpecies of inſtrumental muſic and in the common act of writing. And as a contrivance ſtrictly mechanical, we are referred to the ſlit in one tendon to let another tendon paſs through it, which is found in the tendons which move the toes and fingers.

"The long tendon in the foot, which bends the firſt joint of the toe, paſſes through the ſhort tendon which bends the ſecond joint; which courſe allows to the ſinew more liberty, and a more commodious action than it would otherwiſe have been capable of exerting. There is nothing, I believe, in a ſilk or a cotton-mill; in the belts, or ſtraps, or ropes, by which motion is communicated from one part of the machine to another, that is more artificial, or more evidently ſo than this perforation."

In treating of the veſſels of animal bodies, Dr. P. aſſumes the utility of the circulation of the blood, as an acknowledged point; this grand purpoſe being evidently anſwered by it, the diſtributing to every part of the body the nouriſhment which is received into it by one aperture. What enters at the mouth finds its way to the fingers ends. A more difficult mechanical problem could hardly be propoſed than to diſcover a method of conſtantly repairing the waſte, and of ſupplying an acceſſion of ſubſtance to every part of a complicated machine at the ſame time.

This ſyſtem preſents itſelf under two views: firſt, the diſpoſition of the blood-veſſels, i. e. the laying of the pipes; and ſecondly, the conſtruction of the engine at the centre, viz. the heart, for driving the blood through them. With reſpect to the former, there are two ſyſtems of blood veſſels, arteries, and veins,

veins, the one to carry out the blood, and the other to return it back to its ſource. In going out, the blood paſſes from wider into narrower tubes, and in coming back from narrower into wider, hence the preſſure upon the ſides of the blood-veſſels, will be much greater in one caſe than the other. Accordingly the arteries are not only formed of ſtronger coats than the veins, but are defended from injury by every advantage of ſituation which can be given them.

From the mechaniſm of the heart an interpoſition of valves was required, for without them it can no more do its work than a pump can. Valves are accordingly provided, and regularly diſpoſed, and theſe differ in their ſtructure, though they all act nearly on the ſame principle. As long as the blood proceeds in its proper courſe, the membranes which compoſe the valve are preſſed cloſe to the ſide of the veſſel, and occaſion no impediment to the circulation; when the blood would regurgitate, they are raiſed from the ſide of the veſſel, and meeting in the middle of its cavity, ſhut up the channel. Can any one doubt of contrivance here? Whilſt we ſee the uſe and neceſſity of this machinery, we can look to no other account of its origin than the intending mind of a Creator. Nor can we without admiration reflect, that ſuch weak and tender inſtruments as theſe valves are, ſhould be able to hold out for ſeventy or eighty years.

From the circulation we are carried to another topic, namely the manner in which aliment gets into the blood; in this part the proceſs of *digeſtion* is fully conſidered. And from the accurate experiments of Spallanzani, it appears that the gaſtric juice, the immediate agent of digeſtion, is not a ſimple diluent, but a real ſolvent, it has not the nature of ſaliva, nor of bile; that digeſtion is not putrefaction, nor a fermentative proceſs, nor is it the digeſtion of heat, but a proceſs completely *ſui generis*. The gall-bladder, the pipe which conveys the ſaliva from the place where it is made, to the place where it is wanted, and the larynx are all diſtinctly conſidered, their exquiſite mechaniſm exhibited, and juſt and ſtriking reflections are drawn from the ſeveral ſubjects.

From conſidering the various parts of the animal body ſeparately, we are led to contemplate it in its collective capacity as a maſs, in which there are indubitable evidences, not only of deſign, but of a great deal of attention and accuracy in proſecuting the deſign. Theſe are manifeſt in the exact correſpondence of the two ſides of the ſame animal: in the *package* of the ſeveral parts, which allows of the action of the heart, the lungs and the ſtomach; the circulation of the blood; the ſecretions of the ſeveral fluids by the liver, kidneys, &c. while the body itſelf

itſelf, the caſe that holds this machinery is rolled and toſſed about with little moleſtation of its niceſt motions. Another general property of animal forms is beauty; but the appearance depends chiefly on the ſkin or covering: while the faculty of *ſtanding* is a property, eſpecially in two-legged animals, more curious than is generally ſuppoſed; add to theſe what the author calls "INTERRUPTED ANALOGIES," by which all the bones, except the teeth, are covered with a perioſteum; the ſcarf-ſkin, which clothes the reſt of the body, gives way to the extremities of the toes and fingers, to nails; and all the cavities of the body are encloſed by membranes, except the ſkull; theſe are ſtriking deviations which cannot be accounted for upon any hypotheſis, without deſign.

In the chapters on Comparative Anatomy and Peculiar Organizations, Dr. Paley has diſplayed great ingenuity, in ſtating and amplifying the argument of deſign; and has ſhown that in their general economy, and in the conſtruction as well as offices of their principal parts, there exiſts between all large terreſtrial animals a cloſe reſemblance. In all, life is ſuſtained, and the body nouriſhed, by nearly the ſame apparatus. The ſame fluid circulates through their veſſels, and nearly in the ſame order; and in ſmaller animals, though the reſemblance is more obſcure the plan is ſtill the ſame, and is attended through all its varieties and deflections, by ſubſerviences to ſpecial occaſions and utilities. From generals, our author deſcends to a number of particulars which evince evident marks of deſign; nor are the variations from the uſual order accounted for with difficulty. Thus, in ſpeaking of the covering of different animals, it is remarked that the human animal is the only one which is naked, but then it is the only one which can clothe itſelf; and what at firſt appears a defect proves to be of great advantage, for it renders him an animal of all climates, and of all ſeaſons. He can adopt the warmth or lightneſs of his covering to the temperature of his habitation. The ſame mark of wiſdom is conſpicuous in the clothing of birds, as in that of other animals.

"Every *feather* is a mechanical wonder. If we look at the quill, we find properties not eaſily brought together, ſtrength and lightneſs. I know few things more remarkable than the ſtrength and lightneſs of the very pen with which I am writing. If we caſt our eye to the upper part of the ſtem, we ſee a material, made for the purpoſe, uſed in no other claſs of animals, and in no other part of birds; tough, light, pliant, elaſtic. The pith, alſo, which feeds the feathers, is amongſt animal ſubſtances, ſui generis; neither bone, fleſh, membrane, nor tendon."

Among the peculiar organizations, we are referred to the robuſt cartilage that runs along each ſide of the neck of large quadrupeds; the oil with which birds prune themſelves, and the organ which ſupplies it; the air-bladder in fiſh; the fang of the viper; the bag of the opoſſum; and the claws of certain birds. To theſe are added particularities, limited to a ſingle ſpecies of animals, as the ſtomach of a camel; the tongue of a woodpecker; and laſtly, the two bent teeth, more than half a yard long, growing upwards, and from the upper jaw of the Indian hog, with the uſe of which we were long unacquainted. They are not wanted for defence, and might appear a ſuperfluity, and an incumbrance. But farther obſervation has ſhown that the animal ſleeps ſtanding; and in order to ſupport its head, hooks its upper tuſks upon the branches of trees.

Among the PROSPECTIVE CONTRIVANCES, or the providing of things beforehand, which are not to be uſed until a conſiderable time afterwards, and which, implying a contemplation of the future, belong only to intelligence, we have inſtances of the human teeth, which though formed in, do not advance through, the gum, till they are wanted: of milk in the female parent, affording a maintenance to the young animal the moment it enters the world. But the circumſtances under which the eye is formed are ſtill more proſpective, and are evidences of conſummate ſkill and deſign.

"The eye is of no uſe at the time when it is formed. It is an optical inſtrument made in a dungeon; conſtructed for the refraction of light to a focus, and perfect for its purpoſe, before a ray of light has had acceſs to it: geometrically adapted to the properties and action of an element with which it has no communication; and this is preciſely the thing which evidences intention. It is *providing* for the *future* in the cloſeſt ſenſe which can be given to theſe terms; for it is providing for a future change, not for the then ſubſiſting condition of the animal; not for any gradual progreſs or advance in the ſame condition; but for a new ſtate, the conſequence of a great and ſudden alteration which the animal is to undergo at its birth."

The ſame mode of reaſoning is applicable to the *lungs*. Compoſed of air-veſſels, where there is no air; elaborately conſtructed for the alternate admiſſion and expulſion of an elaſtic fluid, where no ſuch fluid exiſts. This is having a machine locked up in ſtore for future uſe; which inconteſtably proves, that the caſe was expected to occur in which this uſe might be experienced: but expectation is the proper act of intelligence.

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The original argument of contrivance and deſign in the animal economy is carried farther in the chapter of RELATIONS, by which is to be underſtood, the adaptation of the ſeveral parts or inſtruments to one another, for the purpoſe of producing, by their united action, the effect. Here we are, 1ſt, directed to the alimentary powers of animals which ſucceſſively act upon their food; and which are compared to the proceſs of a manufactory. The parallel is admirably conducted, and carries conviction to the mind: 2d, To the relation of the kidneys to the bladder, and of the ureters to both: 3d, Of the ſituation of the eyes, to the direction of the legs which move, and the hands which work: 4th, Of the ſexes to one another: and 5th, Of the teats of animals to the mouth of the ſucking progeny. Theſe are general relations: particular ones are next noticed, ſuch as the web-foot, the ſpoon-bill, and the long neck of the ſwan, which all concur in qualifying it for ſwimming on ſhallow pools of water, and ſeeking its food at the bottom.

From relations we proceed to COMPENSATIONS, by which the *defects* of one part, or of one organ, are ſupplied by the ſtructure of another part, or of another organ: thus the ſhort and unbending neck of the elephant, is compenſated by the length and flexibility of his *proboſcis:* birds of the *crane* kind, deſtined to live and ſeek their food among the waters, yet having no web-feet, are incapable of ſwimming; to make up this deficiency, they are furniſhed with long legs for wading, or long bills for groping; or uſually with both. Theſe are but two of the inſtances mentioned by Dr. Paley, the others referred to by him are equally ſtriking and concluſive in the argument for deſign and contrivance in the Creator.

Advancing farther in the ſubject, we are ſhown by a number of well-ſelected examples, the relation which animated bodies have to inanimate nature, and it is aſked with great propriety, if it can be doubted, whether the wings of *birds* bear a relation to air, and the *fins of fiſh* to water? If the ſtructure of the ear, the organs of the voice, and reſpiration are not indebted for their uſe to the air in which the animal is immerſed? Equally evident is it, that the element of light and the organs of viſion are related in their office and uſe, though they have no connection whatever in their original. Beſide theſe, there is a wonderful *proportioning* of one thing to another; a ſuitableneſs of the earth and ſea to their ſeveral inhabitants, and a ſtriking relation between *ſleep* and *night*, between animals ſuſceptible of torpor, and the ſeaſon of winter. The bat, for inſtance, if it did not ſleep through the

winter, muſt have ſtarved, as the moths and flying inſects upon which it feeds diſappear at that ſeaſon.

From the chapter of *inſtincts*, we ſhall ſelect the following, as one only among many ſtriking and well-ſtated facts, in anſwer to thoſe who would refer inſtinct to the effect of education:

"Moths and butterflies depoſit their eggs in the preciſe ſubſtance from which not the butterfly herſelf, but the caterpillar which is to iſſue from the egg, draws its appropriate food. The butterfly cannot taſte the cabbage on which ſhe lays her eggs; yet, in the cabbage, not by chance, but ſtudiouſly and electively, ſhe lays her egg. There are, among many other kinds, the willow-caterpillar, and the cabbage-caterpillar; but we never find upon a willow the caterpillar which eats the cabbage; nor the converſe. This choice cannot, in the butterfly, proceed from inſtruction. She had no teacher in her caterpillar ſtate. She never knew her parent. I do not ſee, therefore, how knowledge acquired by experience, if it ever were ſuch, could be tranſmitted from one generation to another. There is no opportunity either for inſtruction or imitation. The parent race is gone before the new brood is hatched. And if it be original reaſoning in the butterfly, it is profound reaſoning indeed. She muſt remember her caterpillar ſtate, its taſte and habits, of which memory ſhe ſhews no ſigns whatever. She muſt conclude from analogy, for here her recollection cannot ſerve her, that the little round body, which drops from her abdomen, will at a future period produce a living creature, not like herſelf, but like the caterpillar which ſhe remembers herſelf once to have been. Under the influence of theſe reflections, ſhe goes about to make proviſion for an order of things, which, ſhe concludes, will ſometime or other, take place. And it may be obſerved, that not a few out of many, but that all butterflies argue thus; all draw this concluſion; all act upon it."

The mechaniſm diſplayed in the ſtructure of the inſect tribes is well diſplayed and illuſtrated by many examples in the nineteenth chapter of this work; of theſe the wings of the beetle; the awl or borer at the tails of various ſpecies of flies; and the ſting of the bee, are enlarged upon with conſiderable effect. In the glow-worm there is a combination of mechaniſm with the principles of chemiſtry, the account of which is highly curious.

"Two points ſeem to be agreed upon by naturaliſts, concerning the glow-worm: firſt, that it is phoſphoric; and ſecondly, that its uſe is to attract the male inſect. The only thing to be inquired after, is the ſingularity, if any ſuch there be, in the natural hiſtory of this animal, which ſhould render a proviſion of this kind more neceſſary for *it*, than for other inſects. That ſingularity ſeems to be the difference which ſubſiſts between the male and the female; which difference is greater than what we find in any other ſpecies of

of animal whatever. The glow-worm is a female *caterpillar*; the male of which is a *fly*; lively, comparatively ſmall, diſſimilar to the female in appearance, probably alſo as diſtinguiſhed from her in habits, purſuits, and manners, as he is unlike in form and external conſtitution. Here then is the adverſity of the caſe. The caterpillar cannot meet her companion in the air; the winged rover diſdains the ground. They might never, therefore, be brought together did not this radiant torch direct the volatile mate to his ſedentary female."

From the next chapter on Plants we might ſelect many inſtances of curious mechaniſm, by which the ſeeds are preſerved and perfected, and, when completely ripe, diſperſed; but we muſt haſten to notice the remaining parts of the volume.

We were ſurprized to find a chapter devoted to THE ELEMENTS, becauſe the old doctrine of four or indeed of any given number of elements has been long ſince exploded. But though the conſideration of air, water, fire, and light, as ſimple and uncompounded ſubſtances, be proved by modern diſcoveries to be abſurd, yet the recollection of the number of diſtinct uſes to which they are applied may excite our admiration; and for this purpoſe, and to ſhow the extent of deſign and contrivance, they are evidently introduced into this work. Thus *air* ſupplies the lungs, ſupports fire, conveys ſound, reflects light, diffuſes ſmells, gives rain, wafts ſhips, bears up birds. *Water*, beſide maintaining its own inhabitants, is the univerſal nouriſher of plants, and through them of terreſtial animals; is the baſis of their juices, and fluids, dilutes their food, quenches their thirſt, floats their burdens.

From the elements we proceed to ASTRONOMY, which Dr. Paley does not think the beſt medium through which to prove the agency of an intelligent Creator; but this being firſt proved, it ſhows, beyond all other ſciences, the magnificence of his operations. The mind that is once convinced, it raiſes to ſublimer views of the Deity than any other ſubject affords; but it is not ſo well adapted as ſome others are to the purpoſe of argument. Although our knowledge of aſtronomy be imperfect, yet there are to be found in the phænomena aſcertained circumſtances and laws, ſufficient to indicate an intellectual agency, in *chooſing* out of a boundleſs variety of ſuppoſitions, which were equally poſſible, that which is beneficial; in *determining*, what left to itſelf had a thouſand chances againſt conveniency for one in its favour; in *regulating* ſubjects, as to quantity and degree, which, by their nature, were unlimited with reſpect to either. Under each of theſe heads our author has referred to thoſe inſtances and examples which beſt admitted of popular illuſtration. With

a modeſty peculiar to great talents he has accepted and acknowledged, in this chapter, the aſſiſtance of the Rev. J. Brinkley, M. A. Andrews profeſſor of aſtronomy in the univerſity of Dublin. The illuſtrations of both are calculated to impreſs upon every reader emotions of grateful admiration for the diſplay of wiſdom, power, and benevolence, in the motions and laws by which the heavenly bodies are regulated.

From theſe works of Creation we paſs, without feeling the greatneſs of the tranſition, to the Creator himſelf. Contrivance being eſtabliſhed, proves, ſays Dr. P. the *perſonality* of the Deity, as diſtinguiſhed from what is ſometimes called nature, and ſometimes called principle; becauſe that which can contrive and deſign muſt be a perſon. The acts of a mind prove the exiſtence of a mind: and in whatever a mind reſides, is a perſon; this argument, reaſoning from analogy, is ſtriking and juſt. But in endeavouring to avoid the error into which fataliſts have fallen, do we not approach the boundaries of another? When we preſume to ſay the Deity is a perſon, however guarded we may be in our language, does it not convey the idea to us of a limited being? will it not give to the reader, in general, an idea which the author means not to inſinuate? From a ſurvey of his works, we are ſure that the Creator muſt be *omnipreſent*, or occupy all ſpace; this attribute, though incomprehenſible, is not only eſſential to his nature, but repugnant to any conceptions which we can form of perſonality. We rejoice in every well-founded attack upon atheiſtic principles, which are not more inconſiſtent with ſound ſenſe, than abhorrent from the beſt feelings of our nature; and we object only to the argument for the perſonality of the Deity, becauſe it conveys, and can convey, no proper idea of the manner and nature of the divine exiſtence. Through the whole, and in every chapter and page of the Natural Theology, we have convincing evidence of a great Firſt Cauſe, conſtantly and every where acting with infinite deſign and contrivance: our ſenſes, limited as they are, bear teſtimony to the exiſtence of ſuch a Power, whoſe favour we are bound to ſupplicate, and for whoſe protection we ought to be ever grateful; nevertheleſs, in aſcribing perſonality to the Deity, it does ſeem like dreſſing the infinite with finite attributes; it ſhould ſeem, therefore, more becoming the preſent ſtate of our knowledge, to be contented with the information reſpecting the Infinite Creator, which is derived from his works, without venturing to predicate of him other things, which to ſay the leaſt, muſt be inadequate, as well to expreſs our own conceptions, as to convey rational and juſt ideas to others.

From

From the chapters which treat of the Natural Attributes of the Deity, and of his Unity, much might be extracted, did our limits allow us the ſpace. But we ſhall paſs on to that part which treats of the *Divine Goodneſs*, the proof of which reſts, according to Dr. Paley, on two propoſitions, each capable of being made out by obſervation drawn from the appearances of nature. Of theſe, the *firſt* is, that "in a vaſt plurality of inſtances, in which contrivance is perceived, the deſign of the contrivance is beneficial." And the great cauſe of our inſenſibility to the goodneſs of the Creator is the very *extenſiveneſs* of his bounty.

"We prize but little what we ſhare only in common with the reſt, or with the generality of our ſpecies. When we hear of bleſſings, we think forthwith of ſucceſſes, of proſperous fortunes, of honours, riches, preferments, i. e. of thoſe advantages and ſuperiority over others which we happen either to poſſeſs, or to be in purſuit of, or to covet. The common benefits of our nature entirely eſcape us: yet theſe are the great things; theſe conſtitute, what moſt properly ought to be accounted bleſſings of Providence; what alone, if we might ſo ſpeak, are worthy of its care. Nightly reſt and daily bread, the ordinary uſe of our limbs, and ſenſes, and underſtandings, are gifts which admit of no compariſon with any other. Yet, becauſe almoſt every man we meet with poſſeſſes theſe, we leave them out of our enumeration; they raiſe no ſentiments, they move no gratitude: now, herein is our judgment perverted by our ſelfiſhneſs. A bleſſing ought in truth to be the *more* ſatisfactory, the bounty at leaſt of the donor is rendered more conſpicuous, by its very diffuſion, its commonneſs, its cheapneſs; by its falling to the lot, and forming the happineſs of the great bulk and body of our ſpecies, as well as of ourſelves. Nay, even when we do not poſſeſs it, it ought to be matter of thankfulneſs that others do; but we have a different way of thinking. We court diſtinction. That I don't quarrel with; but we can *ſee* nothing but what has diſtinction to recommend it. This neceſſarily contracts our view of the Creator's beneficence within a narrow compaſs, and moſt unjuſtly. It is in thoſe things which are ſo common as to be no diſtinction that the amplitude of the divine benignity is perceived."

The *ſecond* propoſition is, "that the Deity has added pleaſure to animal ſenſations, beyond what was neceſſary for any other purpoſes; or when the purpoſe, ſo far as it was neceſſary, might have been effected by the operation of pain." The explanation, we had almoſt ſaid the demonſtration, of this propoſition, will claim the aſſent of every reader. The idea, though given by our author to Dr. Balguy, as the perſon who firſt ſuggeſted it, is ſo beautifully extended and ably illuſtrated, that it bears very much the appearance of originality. We ſhall quote one mode of arguing out of ſeveral:

" Assuming the necessity of food for the support of animal life, it is requisite that the animal be provided with organs, fitted for procuring, receiving, and digesting its food. It may be also necessary, that the animal be impelled by its sensations to exert its organs; but the pain of hunger would do all this. Why add pleasure to the act of eating; sweetness and relish to food? Why a new and appropriate sense for the perception of the pleasure? Why should the juice of a peach, applied to the palate, affect the part so differently from what it does when rubbed upon the palm of the hand? This is a constitution which, so far as appears to me, can be resolved into nothing but the pure benevolence of the Creator. Eating is necessary; but the pleasure attending it is not necessary; and that this pleasure depends, not only upon our being in possession of the sense of taste, which is different from every other, but upon a particular state of the organ in which it resides, a felicitous adaptation of the organ to the object, will be confessed by any one who may happen to have experienced that vitiation of taste which frequently occurs in fevers, when every taste is irregular and every one bad."

Such examples and illustrations cannot fail of making a happy and forcible impression upon every mind uncorrupted by the principles of false philosophy, they must awaken in the youthful breast emotions of gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, while they tend to confirm and strengthen the faith of all in the grand principles of natural religion. Nor is Dr. Paley indifferent to the objections which have been, and may with plausibility be brought, against *apparent* exceptions to the general rules. He states the difficulty which arises in the cases of *venemous* animals, and of animals *preying* upon one another, with precision; he allows all the weight that they seem to bear upon the question; and, by his knowledge of natural history, he supplies those answers which must be satisfactory to the ingenuous mind.

With equal regard, perspicuity, and candour, he discusses the subject of the " ORIGIN OF EVIL;" and he thinks that it must be admitted that important advantages may accrue to the universe, from the order of nature proceeding according to general laws;—that general laws, however well constituted, often cross one another;—that from these crossings particular inconveniences will arise; and that it agrees with our observation, to suppose that some degree of these inconveniences takes place in the works of nature. These points may be allowed; and it may also be asserted, that the general laws with which we are acquainted are directed to beneficial ends. With others of them we are unacquainted; and if with these the question of the origin of evil is concerned, the obscurity of the subject may be accounted for. Still we have ground

ground for believing that cases of apparent evil, for which *we* can suggest no particular reason, are governed by reasons which are more general, and which are removed to a greater distance from us. From these considerations, the author notices particular questions which have involved in them difficulty. He shows, in some instances, the advantages of *pain* and *disease*, to which there are frequent alleviations; while the great use of *mortal* diseases is to reconcile us to death. "The horror of death proves the value of life. But it is in the power of disease to abate or even extinguish this horror, which it does in a wonderful manner, and oftentimes by a mild and imperceptible gradation."

By a similar mode of reasoning, the question is answered "Why, under the regency of a Supreme and Benevolent Will, there should be in the world so much as there is of the appearance of chance? On this subject we must transcribe a passage which our author introduces, to show that the appearance of *casualty* which attends the events of life, not only does not interfere with its uses as a state of probation, but that it promotes these uses.

"Passive virtues, of all others the severest and the most sublime; of all others, perhaps, the most acceptable to the Deity; would, it is evident, be excluded from a constitution, in which happiness and misery regularly followed virtue and vice. Patience and composure under distress, affliction, and pain; a steadfast keeping up of our confidence in God, and of our reliance upon his final goodness, at the time when every thing present is adverse and discouraging, and a cordial desire for the happiness of others, even when we are deprived of our own; these dispositions, which constitute, perhaps, the perfection of our moral nature, would not have found their proper office and object in a state of avowed retribution; and in which, consequently, endurance of evil would be only submission to punishment."

From the view of Natural Theology, Dr. Paley, in his concluding chapter, directs the reader to revelation; and shows that the former facilitates the belief of the fundamental articles of the latter. The resurrection of the dead, the most important point in revealed religion, might, says our author, appear hopeless, did we not see a Power at work adequate to the effect; a power, under the guidance of an intelligible Will; and a power penetrating the inmost recesses of all substance. I am far from justifying the opinion of those, who "thought it incredible that God should raise the dead;" but I admit, that it is first necessary to be persuaded that there is a God to do so. This being settled in our minds, there seems to be nothing in this process which need shock our belief.

The

The ample analyſis which we have already given of the volume, will, we are perſuaded, excite a general diſpoſition in others to do as we have done, to be contented with no ſelections, but to ſtudy the whole with attention and care. In our account of the Natural Theology, we have endeavoured to give a connected view of the argument, and of the mode by which it is ſupported; but we do not think it poſſible for a reviewer to do that juſtice to the author, to which his talents and aſſiduity in demonſtrating the foundation of natural religion entitle him. Perhaps, in ſome inſtances, his deſire to make the argument clear and irrefragable, has led to needleſs amplification; but his examples are ſo appoſite, and at the ſame time contain ſuch a body of information in natural hiſtory, as to prevent the tedioufneſs which frequently occurs by going much into detail. Beſides, this volume has fallen and will fall into the hands of all deſcriptions of perſons, of whom, while ſome are convinced and captivated by one kind of argument and analogy, the minds of others may be more ſtrongly affected by a different one; therefore, what to one claſs of readers may appear redundant, to another will be thought eſſential to the train of reaſoning; and there is no part that is not capable of directing the attention to the phenomena of nature, with a conſtant reference to a Supreme and intelligent Author, which is laying the foundation of every thing that is religious; and from thence "the world becomes a temple, and life itſelf one continued act of adoration."

In wiſhing ſucceſs to this work we do but join the public voice, generally and loudly expreſſed; and we cannot but think it no mean criterion of the good taſte of the times, that five impreſſions of the Natural Theology ſhould have been called for in the courſe of a few months: and though we have many publications on ſimilar ſubjects, yet we do not hazard much in predicting, that Dr. Paley's work will attain to a decided pre-eminence; and that when the author ſhall be no more, his reputation as a philoſopher, a divine, and a moraliſt, will be acknowledged by thoſe who are rendered wiſer and better, and happier, by his various writings.

In the courſe of the volume we have met with a few phraſes beneath the ſtyle adapted to a work of this nature, or indeed to almoſt any other, ſuch as, "That I don't quarrel with." p. 499. A good index, if not abſolutely neceſſary, would be a valuable addition to this very excellent publication.

ART. IV. *The Life and Poſthumous Writings of William Cowper, Eſq. By William Hayley, Eſq.* 2 Vols. 4to. pp. 837. price £.2. 12*s.* 6*d.* Johnſon, London, 1803.

THE tranſcendent powers of genius evinced in the compoſition of the TASK, indiſputably entitle the name of Cowper to a diſtinguiſhed eminence in the liſt of Engliſh poets; and the pure and benevolent ſentiments which pervade that exquiſite poem neceſſarily excite, in the mind of every reader of ſenſibility, a wiſh to become acquainted with the hiſtory of its author. This wiſh is ſtrengthened by the obſcure alluſions to the poet's misfortunes, and by the occaſional intimations of the intereſting ſimplicity of his domeſtic habits which are interſperſed in its pages, and beſtow upon it an additional charm. Theſe volumes are therefore ſtrongly recommended to the general notice by the mere annunciation of their ſubject; and the declaration of our opinion, that they are calculated fully to gratify the wiſhes and expectations of the public, is perhaps the beſt commendation of their merits which we have it in our power to beſtow. They principally conſiſt of Mr. Cowper's correſpondence with a ſelect few of his relatives and friends, interſperſed, as occaſion requires, with connecting and explanatory narrative, after the model of Maſon's Life of Gray. This correſpondence obviouſly ſupplies the beſt poſſible hiſtory of Mr. Cowper's life, which was not rendered an object of general curioſity by ſtriking incidents, or by what are vulgarly denominated great events, but by the intereſts which the laudably-inquiſitive take in the free communication of the ſentiments of a learned and virtuous man, to thoſe whom he honoured with his confidence. In his epiſtolary intercourſe with his friends, indeed, Cowper appears to have opened his heart without reſerve;

> ——————*Quo fit ut omnis*
> *Votivâ pateat veluti deſcripta tabellâ*
> *Vita ſenis*——

Hence alſo his letters diſplay that graceful eaſe and ſimplicity of ſtyle, which fully juſtify his biographer in claſſing them among the beſt models of this ſpecies of compoſition which have hitherto appeared in the Engliſh language.

We are well aware that the poſthumous publication of the confidential letters of men of eminence has not unfrequently been a juſt ſubject of complaint. In too many inſtances has it happened, that the rapacity of the diſhoneſt, and the indiſcretion of the fooliſh, have, by ſuch violations of a ſacred truſt, brought diſgrace upon the dead and diſtreſs upon the living.

living. It may not, therefore, be improper to apprize thoſe who are ſtill ignorant of the fact, that the publication of theſe volumes is ſanctioned by Mr. Cowper's ſurviving relations. And thoſe who are acquainted—as who is not—with the uniform conſiſtency of the editor's character, as a gentleman and a ſcholar, will be prepared to believe that, before he ſubmitted them to the public inſpection, he examined their contents with the moſt delicate ſcrupuloſity. But we can eaſily conceive, that in the diſcharge of this duty Mr. Hayley had not to encounter any perplexing difficulties. So pure and upright was the mind of Cowper, that we may ſafely preſume that he never wrote "One line which dying he would wiſh to blot." We may be aſſured that his letters contained no record of licentious indulgences; for to him intemperance was a ſtranger. Nor can we ſuppoſe that it was neceſſary to weed out of them any expreſſions of ill-will to his contemporaries. He ordered his converſation "in the meekneſs of wiſdom"——he was ſuperior to the influence of jealouſy—he interfered with no man's intereſts—he ſpent his days in modeſt retirement, unoffended and unoffending.

In analyzing the contents of theſe entertaining volumes, we ſhall perhaps beſt conſult the benefit of our readers, by preſenting them with a ſketch of Mr. Cowper's Life.

William Cowper, Eſq. was the deſcendant of a family of no mean rank. His paternal grandfather, Spencer Cowper, Eſq. was brother to the celebrated Lord Chancellor Cowper, and by the ſpecial favour of his royal maſter enjoyed the united dignities of a ſeat in the Common Pleas, and the Chief Juſticeſhip of Cheſter. His father, the Rev. Dr. John Cowper, who held the rectory of Great Berkhamſtead, in Hertfordſhire, married Anne, the daughter of Roger Donne, Eſq. of Ludham Hall, Norfolk. By this lady he had ſeveral children, none of whom ſurvived the period of infancy, except William, the author of the Taſk, and a younger ſon of the name of John.

William Cowper was born on the 26th of November, 1731. He had ſcarcely attained the age of ſix years, when the ſorrows of his life commenced by the death of his mother. In the ſame year in which this event took place, he was ſent to a ſchool at Market Street, in Hertfordſhire, kept by Dr. Pitman. From this ſeminary he was removed, in conſequence of a complaint in his eyes, which, after baffling the ſkill of a female occuliſt with whom he reſided for the ſpace of two years, yielded to the influence of the ſmall-pox, by which diſorder he was attacked at Weſtminſter ſchool, whither he had been ſent to proſecute his claſſical ſtudies.

Young

Young Cowper was by nature a boy of a feeble conſtitution, and of very tender ſpirits. No leſs unable than unwilling to participate in the active amuſements of his ſchool-fellows, even at the private ſeminary of Dr. Pitman he became an object of that perſecution with which ſchool-boys are too apt to torment ſuch of their companions as are diſtinguiſhed by the ſhyneſs of their deportment. What then muſt have been his feelings when, with all his conſtitutional timidity, he was deſtined to mix with the bold and adventurous youths of Weſtminſter ſchool, and to ſubmit to the tyranny which long preſcription authorizes the ſenior ſcholars to exerciſe over their juniors! His own forcible expreſſion will beſt convey an idea of the ſenſations which he then experienced: for he has been frequently heard to declare, that "he durſt not raiſe his eye above the ſhoe-buckle of the elder boys." The uncomfortableneſs of his ſituation did not however prevent him from making a conſiderable progreſs in literature. When at the age of eighteen he left Weſtminſter ſchool, "he had not only acquired the accompliſhments but enjoyed the reputation" of an accurate acquaintance with the Latin and Greek languages.

It ſhould ſeem as if the directors of Mr Cowper's proſpects in life were determined, in his future deſtination, to thwart the ſtrong impulſes of nature. Senſible as they muſt or ought to have been of the tremulous delicacy of his feelings, they endeavoured to educate him for the profeſſion of the law—a profeſſion which, as Mr. Hayley juſtly obſerves, "may be ſaid to require for the conſtitution of its heroes

"A frame of adamant, a ſoul of fire."

The conſequence was what might naturally have been expected. No ſooner was he emancipated from the office of an attorney (in which he had been placed on his removal from Weſtminſter ſchool), and entered as a ſtudent of the Inner Temple, than he relinquiſhed the rude wilderneſs of the law, to tread the flowery paths of polite literature. At this time he lived in habits of intimacy with Colman, Bonnel Thornton, and Lloyd, three celebrated wits, who had been his ſchool-fellows at Weſtminſter. His friendſhip for the two former gentlemen induced him to become a contributor to the Connoiſſeur, a periodical paper of which they had the management, and of which Nos. 119, 134, and 138, are the acknowledged productions of Mr. Cowper's pen.

Mr. Cowper continued to enjoy the happineſs of literary leiſure till the year 1762, at which time his friends, with a laudable zeal to promote his intereſt, procured for him a nomination

nation to the offices of reading clerk, and clerk of the private committees of the Houſe of Lords. But his morbid ſenſibility cauſed him to contemplate with horror the idea of reading in public; and he was conſequently obliged to relinquiſh theſe offices for the leſs obtruſive charge of clerk of the journals. Unfortunately, however, in the diſcharge of the duties of this ſituation, he was required to attend at the bar of the Lords. The proſpect of appearing before that auguſt aſſembly racked his timid mind with the moſt agonizing diſtreſs. In vain did his friends endeavour to encourage him by the promiſe of their perſonal attendance on this trying occaſion. When they waited on him for the purpoſe of accompanying him to the Houſe, they were too certainly convinced of the hopeleſſneſs of their attempt. The conflict which had taken place in Mr. Cowper's mind, between his wiſhes and his fears, had utterly overwhelmed his reaſon!

In theſe melancholy circumſtances he was intruſted to the care of Dr. Cotton, of St. Albans, by whoſe benevolent and ſkilful aſſiduity he was, in the courſe of a few months, reſtored to the invaluable bleſſing of tranquillity of mind. During this his firſt paroxyſm of mental derangement, which laſted from December, 1763, to July, 1764, he laboured under that indeſcribable horror which reſults from a dread of the ſeverity of divine vengeance againſt ſinners. On the abatement of his diſeaſe, he experienced the comfort which is felt by perſons of warm imaginations in the full aſſurance that they are regenerated, and that their names are enrolled in the number of thoſe who ſhall obtain ſalvation through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt.

Impreſſed with an earneſt deſire to relinquiſh the active concerns of the world for the cultivation of religious affections, Mr. Cowper removed from St. Albans to Huntingdon. He had not long reſided in the latter place before a circumſtance occurred, apparently of no moment, but which, in its conſequences, had the moſt important influence upon the tranſactions of his future life. After having attended divine ſervice in one of the churches he walked in ſilent meditation under an avenue of trees in the church yard. The penſiveneſs of his demeanor attracting the attention of Mr. William Cawthorn Unwin, that gentleman was induced to intrude upon his ſolitude, and to ſolicit his acquaintance. There appears to have been ſomething in Mr. Unwin's addreſs, which at once overcame the ſhyneſs of Mr. Cowper, who from this moment honoured him with his affectionate eſteem. Mr. Unwin was, on his part, ſo highly gratified by the converſation of his new friend,

friend, that he haſtened to introduce him to his father, a divine of the church of England, who reſided at Huntingdon, where he had long been diſtinguiſhed by his benevolence and piety. Mr. Cowper's acquaintance with this exemplary man was ſpeedily improved into ſo ſtrict an intimacy, that he was invited to take up his abode in his family—an invitation which he gladly accepted. In his intercourſe with this virtuous and happy ſociety, which conſiſted of the elder Mr. Unwin, his wife, a ſon and a daughter, Mr. Cowper experienced that ſweet placidity of ſoul, which is the reſult of a due mixture of religious exerciſes with the exertions of active benevolence and rational amuſement.

But this ſtate of felicity was not of long duration. He had not reſided in Mr. Unwin's houſe much more than two years when he was doomed to ſuſtain a moſt ſevere ſhock, by the ſudden death of his much-loved friend, which was occaſioned by a fracture of the ſkull in conſequence of a fall from his horſe. This melancholy event induced Mr. Cowper and the widow of the deceaſed to quit a ſcene which was rendered gloomy by the recollection of pleaſures which were paſt, never to return—and at the recommendation of the Rev. Mr. Newton, curate of Olney, in Buckinghamſhire, they fixed their reſidence in that place, in the month of October 1767. At Olney they purſued the ſame plan of life which they had adopted at Huntingdon, devoting the principal part of their time to the active and contemplative duties of religion.

On the 20th of March, 1770, Mr. Cowper was doomed to undergo a ſevere trial, by the death of his brother John, Fellow of Bennet College, Cambridge, whoſe memory he afterwards embalmed in a paſſage of exquiſite pathos, which occurs in the 2d book of the Taſk. This event produced a deep depreſſion of his ſpirits, which he endeavoured to counteract by aſſiſting his friend Mr. Newton in the compoſition of a number of religious poems. But the employment had the unhappy effect of increaſing his malady. He ſtruggled againſt his overwhelming diſeaſe during two years, at the end of which period his noble mind was again involved in all the darkneſs of religious deſpondency.

In theſe melancholy circumſtances he was aſſiduouſly tended by the maternal care of Mrs. Unwin. For the dreary ſpace of ſeven years did that excellent woman, with indefatigable kindneſs, perſiſt in her endeavours to "eraſe the written ſorrows of his brain." At length it pleaſed the great Fountain of Intellect to reward her labours of love, by permitting her to witneſs the recovery of her adopted ſon, who ſeems, in the year 1780, to have been reſtored to the cheerful exertion of his mental

mental faculties.—Mr. Cowper's recovery was gradual; and before his mind could endure the fatigue of ſtudy, he amuſed himſelf by educating three tame hares; the different characters of which, as deſcribed by himſelf with no ſmall degree of humour, are inſerted in the ſecond volume of the later editions of his poems. His firſt effort of a literary kind, after the reſtoration of his intellect, was a tranſlation of the hymns of Madame Guyon, which he undertook at the requeſt of the Rev. Mr. Bull, of Newport Pagnel, who had been introduced to his acquaintance by his friend Mr. Newton.

In the year 1781 Mr. Cowper publiſhed the firſt volume of his Poems. This production was but coldly received by the literary world. The reaſons of its failure, as well as its intrinſic merits, are pointed out by Mr. Hayley with great judgment and diſcrimination.

The month of September of this year may be regarded as a new æra in the life of Mr. Cowper, ſince that is the date of the commencement of his acquaintance with Lady Auſten, the widow of Sir Robert Auſten, Bart. who happened to be then paying a viſit to her ſiſter, reſiding at a ſmall village, about a mile diſtant from Olney. The circumſtances of Mr. Cowper's introduction to this accompliſhed woman, which are ſomewhat romantic, Mr. Hayley narrates in the following terms:

"As the two ladies chanced to call at a ſhop in Olney, oppoſite to the houſe of Mrs. Unwin, Cowper obſerved them from his window. Although naturally ſhy, and now rendered more ſo by his very long illneſs, he was ſo ſtruck with the appearance of the ſtrangers, that on hearing ſhe was ſiſter to Mrs. Jones, he requeſted Mrs. Unwin to invite them to tea. So ſtrong was his reluctance to admit the company of ſtrangers, that after he had occaſioned this invitation, he was for a long time unwilling to join the little party, but having forced himſelf at laſt to engage in converſation with Lady Auſten, he was ſo reanimated by her uncommon colloquial talents, that he attended the ladies on their return to Clifton, and from that time continued to cultivate the regard of his new acquaintance with ſuch aſſiduous attention, that ſhe ſoon received from him the familiar and endearing title of Siſter Ann."

In the enſuing year, Lady Auſten became Mr. Cowper's next-door neighbour, and "ſo captivating was her ſociety, both to the retired poet and to Mrs. Unwin, that theſe intimate neighbours might be almoſt ſaid to make one family, as it became their cuſtom to dine always together alternately in the houſes of the two ladies."

The innocent ſprightlineſs of Lady Auſten's converſation operated like a charm upon the diffident and melancholy mind of

of Cowper. But perhaps her faſcinating influence was in no inſtance manifeſted in a more extraordinary manner than in her giving riſe to the compoſition of the well-known Hiſtory of John Gilpin. This popular ballad was founded upon a ſtory which ſhe one evening related to the poet, in order to diſſipate a riſing fit of deſpondency; and which had ſuch an effect upon his fancy that he ſpent the greater part of the enſuing night in turning it into verſe, an undertaking in which he was perpetually interrupted by burſts of laughter, at the drollery of the circumſtances which ſported in his imagination. To the ſuggeſtion of Lady Auſten, alſo, the public are indebted for the TASK, which exquiſite poem was written in conſequence of her requeſting Mr. Cowper to exerciſe his talents in the compoſition of blank verſe, and of her ſportively propoſing a ſofa as a proper theme. When we conſider the ſoothing influence which this lively and amiable woman poſſeſſed over the mind of Cowper, we cannot but regard it as one of his moſt ſerious misfortunes, that in the year 1784 he thought himſelf compelled by the obligations of gratitude to forego the pleaſure which he experienced in her ſociety. Mr. Hayley has related the cauſes of this circumſtance with a happy delicacy.

"Delightful and advantageous as his friendſhip with Lady Auſten had proved, he now began to feel, that it grew impoſſible to preſerve that triple cord, which his own pure heart had led him to ſuppoſe not ſpeedily to be broken. Mrs. Unwin, though by no means deſtitute of mental accompliſhments, was eclipſed by the brilliancy of the poet's new friend, and naturally became uneaſy under the apprehenſion of being ſo, for, to a woman of ſenſibility, what evil can be more afflicting, than the fear of loſing all mental influence over a man of genius and virtue, whom ſhe has been long accuſtomed to inſpirit and to guide.

"Cowper perceived the painful neceſſity of ſacrificing a great portion of his preſent gratifications. He felt, that he muſt relinquiſh that ancient friend, whom he regarded as a venerable parent; or the new aſſociate, whom he idolized, as a ſiſter of a heart and mind congenial to his own. His gratitude for paſt ſervices of unexampled magnitude, and weight, would not allow him to heſitate, and with a reſolution of delicacy, that does the higheſt honour to his feelings, he wrote a farewel letter to Lady Auſten, explaining and lamenting the circumſtances, that forced him to renounce the ſociety of a friend, whoſe enchanting talents and kindneſs had proved ſo agreeably inſtrumental to the revival of his ſpirits, and to the exerciſe of his fancy."

The retirement in which Mr. Cowper had ſpent the laſt twenty years of his life, ſeems to have operated like the grave in ſuſpending his intercourſe with moſt of his neareſt relations.

But in the year 1785, as the avowed author of the TASK, he emerged as it were from the ſhadow of death. On this occaſion the remembrance of his youthful virtues revived, in the hearts of ſeveral of the ſurviving members of his family, the affection which his amiable diſpoſitions had formerly inſpired. Of theſe the moſt eager and the moſt welcome candidate for a renewal of acquaintance was his couſin Lady Heſketh, the widow of Sir Thomas Heſketh, Bart. who had no ſooner peruſed the TASK, than ſhe wrote a letter of congratulation to its author, frankly offering him every aſſiſtance of which he might ſtand in need, and which it was in her power to beſtow. This offer drew from Cowper the following letter, which gives a detailed account of his ſituation and circumſtances, at this period, which cannot but be intereſting to all his admirers.

LETTER 41.

" To Lady HESKETH.

" My Deareſt Couſin,

" Whoſe laſt moſt affectionate letter has run in my head ever ſince I received it, and which I now ſit down to anſwer two days ſooner than the poſt will ſerve me. I thank you for it, and with a warmth for which I am ſure you will give me credit, though I do not ſpend many words in deſcribing it. I do not ſeek *new* friends, not being altogether ſure that I ſhould find them, but have unſpeakable pleaſure in being ſtill beloved by an old one. I hope that now our correſpondence has ſuffered its laſt interruption, and that we ſhall go down together to the grave, chatting, and chirping as merrily as ſuch a ſcene of things as this will permit.

" I am happy that my Poems have pleaſed you. My Volume has afforded me no ſuch pleaſure at any time, either while I was writing it, or ſince its publication, as I have derived from yours, and my uncle's opinion of it. I make certain allowances for partiality, and for that peculiar quickneſs of taſte, with which you both reliſh what you like, and after all drawbacks upon thoſe accounts duly made, find myſelf rich in the meaſure of your approbation that ſtill remains. But above all I honour John Gilpin, ſince it was he who firſt encouraged you to write. I made him on purpoſe to laugh at, and he ſerved his purpoſe well; but I am now in debt to him for a more valuable acquiſition than all the laughter in the world amounts to, the recovery of my intercourſe with you, which is to me ineſtimable. My benevolent and generous Couſin; when I was once aſked if I wanted any thing, and given delicately enough to underſtand that the inquirer was ready to ſupply all my occaſions, I thankfully and civilly, but poſitively, declined the favour. I neither ſuffer, nor have ſuffered, any ſuch inconveniences as I had not much rather endure, than come under obligations of that ſort to a perſon comparatively with yourſelf a ſtranger to me. But to you I anſwer otherwiſe. I know you thoroughly, and the liberality of your diſpoſition; and have that conſummate confidence in the ſincerity of your wiſh to ſerve me,

me, that delivers me from all awkward conſtraint, and from all fear of treſpaſſing by acceptance. To you, therefore, I reply, yes. whenſoever and whatſoever, and in what manner ſoever you pleaſe; and add, moreover, that my affection for the giver is ſuch, as will increaſe to me tenfold the ſatisfaction that I ſhall have in receiving. It is neceſſary, however, that I ſhould let you a little into the ſtate of my finances, that you may not ſuppoſe them more narrowly circumſcribed than they are. Since Mrs. Unwin and I have lived at Olney, we have had but one purſe; although during the whole of that time, till lately, her income was nearly double mine. Her revenues indeed are now in ſome meaſure reduced, and do not much exceed my own; the worſt conſequence of this is, that we are forced to deny ourſelves ſome things which hitherto we have been better able to afford, but they are ſuch things as neither life, nor the well-being of life, depend upon. My own income has been better than it is, but when it was beſt, it would not have enabled me to live as my connexions demanded that I ſhould, had it not been combined with a better than itſelf, at leaſt at this end of the kingdom. Of this I had full proof during three months that I ſpent in lodgings at Huntingdon, in which time by the help of good management, and a clear notion of œconomical matters, I contrived to ſpend the income of a twelve-month. Now, my beloved couſin, you are in poſſeſſion of the whole caſe as it ſtands. Strain no points to your own inconvenience, or hurt, for there is no need of it; but indulge yourſelf in communicating (no matter what) that you can ſpare without miſſing it, ſince by ſo doing you will be ſure to add to the comforts of my life, one of the ſweeteſt that I can enjoy, a token and proof of your affection.

"In the affair of my next publication, toward which you alſo offer me ſo kindly your aſſiſtance, there will be no need that you ſhould help me in the manner that you propoſe. It will be a large work, conſiſting, I ſhould imagine, of ſix volumes at leaſt. The 12th of this month I ſhall have ſpent a year upon it, and it will coſt me more than another. I do not love the Bookſellers well enough to make them a preſent of ſuch a labour; but intend to publiſh by ſubſcription. Your vote and intereſt, my dear couſin, upon the occaſion, if you pleaſe, but nothing more! I will trouble you with ſome papers of Propoſals, when the time ſhall come, and am ſure that you will circulate as many for me as you can. Now my dear I am going to tell you a ſecret. It is a great ſecret, that you muſt not whiſper even to your Cat. No creature is at this moment apprized of it, but Mrs. Unwin, and her Son. I am making a new tranſlation of Homer, and am upon the point of finiſhing the twenty-firſt book of the Iliad. The reaſons upon which I undertake this Herculean labour, and by which I juſtify an enterprize in which I ſeem ſo effectually anticipated by Pope, although in fact he has not anticipated me at all, I may poſſibly give you, if you wiſh for them, when I can find nothing more intereſting to ſay. A period which I do not conceive to be very near! I have not anſwered many things

in your Letter, nor can do it at preſent for want of room. I cannot believe but that I ſhould know you, notwithſtanding all that time may have done. There is not a feature of your face, could I meet it upon the road by itſelf, that I ſhould not inſtantly recollect. I ſhould ſay, that is my Couſin's noſe, or thoſe are her lips and her chin, and no woman upon earth can claim them but herſelf. As for me, I am a very ſmart youth of my years. I am not indeed grown grey ſo much as I am grown bald. No matter. There was more hair in the world than ever had the honour to belong to me. Accordingly, having found juſt enough to curl a little at my ears, and to intermix with a little of my own that ſtill hangs behind, I appear, if you ſee me in an afternoon, to have a very decent head-dreſs, not eaſily diſtinguiſhed from my natural growth; which being worn with a ſmall bag, and a black ribbond about my neck, continues to me the charms of my youth, even on the verge of age. Away with the fear of writing too often.

" Yours, my deareſt Couſin, W. C.

" P. S. That the view I give you of myſelf may be complete, I add the two following items—That I am in debt to nobody, and that I grow fat."

Mr. Cowper's epiſtolary correſpondence with his fair couſin forms a moſt attractive portion of theſe volumes. It is engagingly playful and affectionate, and is characteriſed by the graceful eaſe and ſimplicity which are the reſult of cultivation of mind, united with purity of heart. To Lady Heſketh the timorous recluſe delighted to unboſom himſelf; and conſequently nothing ſeems to have been more grateful to his feelings than the renewal of their perſonal acquaintance, which was effected by Lady H.'s viſiting Olney in the ſummer of 1786. In the month of November of that year his comforts were much increaſed by his removal from the inconvenient and diſmal abode which he had occupied for nineteen years, to the Lodge, a houſe ſituated in the pleaſant village of Weſton, where he enjoyed the advantage of a good garden, and a field of moderate extent, which " he delighted to cultivate and embelliſh." Another powerful recommendation of his new reſidence was, its vicinity to the houſe of Mr. Throckmorton, a gentleman of large fortune, whoſe good taſte and benevolence at this time prompted him to cultivate an acquaintance with Mr. Cowper, which was ſoon matured into the ſtricter intimacy of friendſhip. With a few exceptions, the conſequence of occaſional illneſs, the firſt years of Mr. Cowper's abode at the Lodge appear to have glided pleaſantly along. In a letter to his kinſman, John Johnſon, Eſq. dated July 31, 1790, he emphatically ſays, " If time ſhould ſeem to you as ſhort at Weſton as it ſeems to us, your viſit here will

be

begone as a dream when one awaketh, or as a watch in the night." His ſpirits were now enlivened by occaſional viſits from Lady Heſketh, Mr. Johnſon, and Samuel Roſe, Eſq. a gentleman who was induced by the celebrity of his name to ſeek his acquaintance, and was ſo fortunate as to gain his cordial eſteem. But for the tranquillity of mind which he enjoyed at this period, he was probably indebted to the regular but not overſtrained exertion of his faculties in the execution of a work of gigantic magnitude—a tranſlation of the Iliad and Odyſſey of Homer into blank verſe. This tranſlation, as well as the TASK, was undertaken at the ſuggeſtion of Lady Auſten. It occupied, during five years, viz. from 1786 to 1791, all the time which Mr. Cowper choſe to devote to ſerious ſtudy: and whoſoever is apprized, by the peruſal of his correſpondence during this period, of the induſtry with which he ſubmitted every line to the proceſs of correction, will be ſurprized that it could have been finiſhed in ſo ſhort a time.

Soon after the publication of this work, Mr. Cowper began to feel the want of the ſtimulus occaſioned by an obligation to bend the powers of his mind to ſome definite object. On this account he was induced readily to liſten to certain overtures which he received from his bookſeller, Mr. Johnſon, who ſolicited him to ſuperintend the preparation of a ſplendid edition of the works of Milton. He accordingly began a tranſlation of the Latin and Italian poetry of our great Epic bard, and alſo, though not without conſiderable reluctance, commenced the compilation and compoſition of notes on the Paradiſe Loſt. It happened that Mr. Hayley was at this time engaged in writing a life of Milton, which was intended to be prefixed to the ſuperb publication of Meſſrs. Boydell and Nicol. No ſooner was he apprized of Mr. Cowper's being occupied in a ſimilar undertaking, than he was impelled by that liberality which ought always to guide the conduct of a ſcholar and a gentleman, to open to him his own plan, and to deprecate the idea of rivalſhip, which had been ſuggeſted by the impertinent officiouſneſs of ſome newſpaper critic. The epiſtolary correſpondence to which this apparently inauſpicious commencement of intercourſe gave riſe, evinces the generous integrity of Mr. Cowper's heart, which could not harbour the leaſt particle of literary jealouſy; and, in the place of ſhyneſs and diſguſt, Mr. Hayley experienced from his brother bard that reciprocity of friendly ſentiment which he juſtly eſteems as a tranſcendent honour.

In the month of May 1792, Mr. Hayley paid a viſit to Mr. Cowper, at Weſton.

" Our meeting, ſo ſingularly produced, was a ſource of reciprocal delight; we looked cheerfully forward to the unclouded enjoyment of many ſocial and literary hours.

" My hoſt, though now in his ſixty-firſt year, appeared as happily exempt from all the infirmities of advanced life, as friendſhip could wiſh him to be; and his more elderly companion, not materially oppreſſed by the age of ſeventy-two, diſcovered a benevolent alertneſs of character that ſeemed to promiſe a continuance of their domeſtic comfort. Their reception of me was kindneſs itſelf:—I was enchanted to find that the manners and converſation of Cowper reſembled his Poetry, charming by unaffected elegance, and the graces of a benevolent ſpirit. I looked with affectionate veneration and pleaſure on the lady who, having devoted her life and fortune to the ſervice of this tender and ſublime genius, in watching over him with maternal vigilance through many years of the darkeſt calamity, appeared to be now enjoying a reward juſtly due to the nobleſt exertions of friendſhip, in contemplating the health and the renown of the Poet whom ſhe had the happineſs to preſerve."

But the pleaſure which Mr. Hayley enjoyed in the contemplation of the domeſtic virtues of theſe two extraordinary characters, was ſoon overclouded by his being doomed to witneſs the commencement of a train of ſorrows which, with few and ſhort intervals, accompanied his affectionate hoſt during the remainder of his weary pilgrimage on earth. One day, on their return from a morning's walk, the two friends were met by a neighbouring clergyman, who communicated to them the melancholy tidings, that Mrs. Unwin had juſt been ſeized by a paralytic fit. The immediate effect of this intelligence ſeemed to threaten a renewed ſuſpenſion of the mental faculties of the too-ſenſible bard. By the judicious care of Mr. Hayley, however, the recurrence of this calamity was, for the preſent, prevented. Mrs. Unwin alſo gradually recovered, in ſome degree, from the effects of her diſorder. It was now that Mr. Cowper teſtified the ſincerity of his gratitude to his amiable benefactreſs, by diligently devoting himſelf to the alleviation of her ſufferings. For her ſake he ſuſpended his ſtudies. In order to dedicate his time to her he neglected his moſt valuable correſpondents—" I wiſh," ſays he in a letter to Mr. Roſe, " that I were as induſtrious as you, though in a different way; but it is not ſo with me. Mrs. Unwin's great debility (who is not yet able to move without aſſiſtance) is of itſelf a hinderance ſuch as would effectually diſable me. Till ſhe can work and read, and fill up her time as uſual, (all which is at preſent entirely out of her power) I may now and then find time to write a letter, but I ſhall write nothing more. I cannot ſit with my pen in my hand, and my books before me,

me, while ſhe is in effect in ſolitude, ſilent, and looking at the fire."

The conſtant contemplation of the decrepitude of his kindeſt friend, and the ſuſpenſion of his wonted employment, had a moſt unhappy effect upon the ſpirits of Cowper, and though he made ſo vigorous an effort in the autumn of 1792, as to quit his ſequeſtered reſidence for a ſeaſon, and convey his invalid companion to Eartham, the ſeat of Mr. Hayley, where he ſpent a few weeks in a ſtate of comparative cheerfulneſs, after his return home he gradually declined, till, in the year 1794, he once more became a prey to the horrors of religious deſpair. In this deplorable ſituation Providence did not ſuffer him to want a protector. "Lady Heſketh was no ſooner apprized of the extremity of his diſtreſs, than ſhe haſtened to Weſton, and nobly devoted herſelf to the ſuperintendence of a houſe, whoſe two intereſting inhabitants were rendered, by age and trouble, almoſt incapable of attending to the ordinary offices of life."

It was at this period, when hour after hour was employed by him in watching the variations in the fading countenance of his adopted mother, that he compoſed the following exquiſite poem, which breathes a ſpirit of melancholy tenderneſs, which may be felt, but which it is impoſſible to deſcribe.

"TO MARY.

"The twentieth year is well nigh paſt,
Since firſt our ſky was overcaſt,
Ah, would that this might be the laſt!
My Mary!

Thy ſpirits have a fainter flow,
I ſee thee daily weaker grow—
'Twas my diſtreſs that brought thee low,
My Mary!

Thy needles, once a ſhining ſtore!
For my ſake reſtleſs heretofore;
Now ruſt diſus'd, and ſhine no more,
My Mary!

For tho' thou gladly would'ſt fulfil
The ſame kind office for me ſtill,
Thy ſight now ſeconds not thy will,
My Mary!

But well thou play'd'ſt the huſwife's part;
And all thy threads with magic art
Have wound themſelves about this heart,
My Mary!

Thy indiſtinct expreſſions ſeem
Like language utter'd in a dream;
Yet me they charm, whate'er the theme!
My Mary

Thy ſilver locks, once auburn bright!
Are ſtill more lovely in my ſight
Than golden beams of orient light,
My Mary!

For could I view nor them nor thee,
What ſight worth ſeeing could I ſee?
The ſun would riſe in vain for me,
My Mary!

Partakers of thy ſad decline,
Thy hands their little force reſign;
Yet, gently preſt, preſs gently mine,
My Mary!

Such feebleneſs of limbs thou prov'ſt,
That now, at every ſtep thou mov'ſt
Upheld by two, yet ſtill thou lov'ſt,
My Mary!

And ſtill to love, tho' preſt with ill;
In wint'ry age to feel no chill,
With me, is to be lovely ſtill,
My Mary!

But, ah! by conſtant heed I know,
How oft the ſadneſs that I ſhow,
Transforms thy ſmiles to looks of woe,
My Mary!

And ſhould my future lot be caſt
With much reſemblance of the paſt,
Thy worn-out heart will break at laſt,
My Mary!"

If any adventitious circumſtance could give to this poem an additional intereſt to that which is founded on its intrinſic pathos, that intereſt would be derived from the conſideration, that it was the laſt piece which Cowper compoſed at his beloved Weſton. In the month of July, 1795, it was thought expedient to remove him and his aged companion in affliction from the ſpot where they had ſo long fixed their reſidence, to North Tuddingham, in Norfolk, when they were conſigned to the care of the Rev. John Johnſon, who appears to have exerted himſelf with unremitting aſſiduity, to awaken the mind of his kinſman to a ſenſe of cheerfulneſs. But theſe endeavours were fruitleſs. Though he ſucceeded ſo far as to induce him to reviſe his tranſlation of Homer, and to make ſome inferior literary exertions, he could not chaſe from his heart the terrors of deſpondency. So deeply was Cowper abſorbed in the contemplation of future miſery, that the viſits of his moſt favourite friends ſeemed only productive of ſorrow; and though when in the duſk of the evening on the 17th of September 1795, he attended Mr. Johnſon to ſurvey the corpſe

corpſe of his faithful Mrs. Unwin, who had died on the morning of that day, he uttered an exclamation of paſſionate ſorrow—if he afterwards held her in remembrance, this remembrance appears to have been productive of no ſoothing pleaſure—for he never ſpake of her again.

It was his lot to ſurvive this "dear companion of his walks" for five years, during which time no ray of light could penetrate his mental gloom. On Friday, the 25th of April 1800, it pleaſed the Almighty to terminate his ſufferings.

What awful topics of reflection are ſuggeſted by the hiſtory of the Life of Cowper! For who can contemplate, without the moſt ſerious emotions, the allotment of thirteen years, from the narrow period of human exiſtence, to the endurance of the heavieſt of calamities? When we find that by too great tenſion, or by too ſtrong impulſe, the chords of the heart, which produce the fineſt melody, may be ſnapt in a moment, ſhall we not acknowledge that man is not only "wonderfully" but alſo "fearfully" made? And when we perceive, that to one of the pureſt and moſt virtuous characters that ever exiſted on earth, that ſyſtem of religion which is intended by its divine Author as the ſource of all conſolation, became the inſpirer of indeſcribable terror, muſt we not confeſs, that even religious affections require regulation, and that it is poſſible to be ſo much abſorbed in the contemplation of futurity, as to loſe even the moſt legitimate happineſs of our preſent ſtate? The truth is that all our emotions ſhould be controlled by reaſon. The exertion of this principle in the ſtudy of natural and revealed religion, will teach "the humble to be glad," in the aſſurance that the great Power above us is a God of mercy, and that it is utterly repugnant to his diſpoſition to "break the bruiſed reed."

(To be continued.)

ART. V. *The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis tranſlated into Engliſh Verſe. By William Gifford, Esq. with Notes and Illuſtrations.* 4to. pp. 486, and lxxvii, price £.1. 11*s.* 6*d.* London; Nicol and Evans. 1802.

THE pleaſure experienced by readers of juſt taſte, on the peruſal of the flowing and energetive verſe in which the author of the BAVIAD, poured forth his indignation againſt the frivolity of the Della Cruſca ſchool, induced a general opinion that he was ſingularly well qualified to transfuſe into the Engliſh language the ſpirit of the ancient ſatiriſts. It was conſequently with no ſmall ſatisfaction that the literary public,

public, received information that Mr. Gifford had been long employed upon a poetical tranſlation of Juvenal. With a view of accounting for the delay of the publication of this work, which was undertaken ſo far back as the year 1781, Mr. G. has thought it neceſſary to give a ſketch of his own life. Seldom have we met with a more intereſting piece of biography than this, which narrates with the touching eloquence of ſimple truth the ſtruggles of an active mind againſt the preſſure of adverſe circumſtances; which exhibits the flame of intellect gleaming through the thickeſt gloom of poverty; and diſplays the emotions of a heart expanded by proſperity, and feelingly alive to the ſenſations of gratitude.

Mr. G's anceſtors held a ſtation of reſpectability in the county of Devon. The fortunes of his houſe, however, gradually declined to ſo low an ebb, that on the death of his mother, who had unſucceſsfully carried on her late huſband's buſineſs of a glazier and houſe-painter, the whole of the remaining property belonging to his family was ſeized by his godfather, who on this occaſion ſeems to have acted in the double capacity of adminiſtrator and principal creditor. Previouſly to this event, Mr. G. had been put to the free-ſchool at Aſhburton (the place of his mother's reſidence), where he informs us "he continued three years, making a moſt wretched progreſs." After his mother's death, his godfather permitted him to continue his attendance at this humble ſeminary, where he now began to make ſome advances in reading, writing, and ciphering. At the end of three months, however, the compaſſion of this hard-hearted guardian being exhauſted, he endeavoured, though ineffectually, to compel his unfortunate ward to go out to work in the capacity of a plough-boy. After having been diſappointed in a ſecond project which he had formed to get him off his hands, he cauſed him to enter at the age of thirteen, as cabin-boy on board the Three Brothers, a coaſting veſſel belonging to Brixham. Before the expiration of twelve months, however, young Gifford was reſcued from this ſtate of menial drudgery, by the indignation of the good people of Aſhburton, who were ſo much exaſperated againſt his godfather, by the reports which they, from time to time, received of his deſtitute condition, that they in a manner compelled him once more to receive his orphan charge into his houſe, and to allow him to finiſh his ſchool education. The object of young G's ambition at this time was to qualify himſelf for the office of a country ſchoolmaſter. But a different deſtiny awaited him. On the 1ſt of January 1772 his godfather bound him apprentice to a ſhoemaker.

At

At this period, the extent of his reading was confined to the Bible, Thomas a Kempis's Imitation, a black letter romance, and a few looſe magazines. The ſcanty library of his maſter, who was a "Preſbyterian ſour," conſiſted only of Fenning's Dictionary and the Tracts on the Exeter Controverſy. Few ſituations in life are more deplorable than that of a newly-apprenticed orphan, who is generally the drudge of the family, the ſubject of inſult, the child of labour and ſorrow; and young Gifford ſeems to have had his full ſhare of the miſeries incident to this much-injured claſs of the community. Notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, however, he was not deterred from attempting to enlarge his knowledge of arithmetic. The ſeverity of his maſter reduced him to the neceſſity of proſecuting his ſtudies in ſecret; and when the fortunate acquiſition of Fenning's Algebra, to the peruſal of which he could dedicate thoſe hours alone which are uſually allotted to ſleep, had given him a deeper inſight into the principles of calculation, ſo deſtitute was he of the common implements of learning, that he was obliged to work his problems with a blunted awl on pieces of leather, which he had beat out as ſmooth as poſſible to ſerve as a ſubſtitute for a ſlate.

About this period his ſatiric vein ſeems to have diſcloſed itſelf in ſome verſes, written in ridicule of the performances of a bungling ſign-painter. But like many other ſatiriſts, the poetical apprentice was doomed to ſuffer for his wit. The indignation of his maſter was rouſed to ſuch a pitch by the reports which were daily brought him of his "preſumptuous attempts at verſification," as well as by his neglect of buſineſs, that he forcibly deprived him of a little ſtock of books and papers which he had contrived to collect, and prohibited him under the ſevereſt penalties from any further attempts to cultivate his mind.

"I look back to that part of my life which immediately followed this event, with little ſatisfaction; it was a period of gloom, and ſavage unſociability: by degrees I ſunk into a kind of corporeal torpor; or, if rouzed into activity by the ſpirit of youth, waſted the exertion in ſplenetic and vexatious tricks, which alienated the few acquaintances compaſſion had yet left me. So I crept on in ſilent diſcontent; unfriended and unpitied; indignant at the preſent, careleſs of the future, an object at once of apprehenſion and diſlike."

From this melancholy ſituation he was at length liberated by the benevolence of Mr. William Cookeſley, ſurgeon, of Aſhburton, who was induced by the fame of his ſatiric effuſions to inquire into the particulars of his life. Struck with compaſſion at the recital of his diſmal hiſtory, he ſet on foot a ſubſcription, by the produce of which young Gifford

was

was enabled to purchaſe from his maſter, the remainder of his time, and to proſecute his ſtudies under the care of the Rev. Thomas Smerdon. With ſuch aſſiduity did he now apply himſelf to the learned languages, that at the end of two years and two months he was pronounced fit for the Univerſity, and was accordingly entered at Exeter College, Oxford. He had not reſided long in this antient ſeat of learning, before Mr. Cookeſley, who had read with approbation verſions which he had executed of a few of the Satires of Juvenal, ſuggeſted to him the expediency of tranſlating the whole of that writer's works, and publiſhing his tranſlation by ſubſcription. To this idea, Mr. G. readily acceded, and the ſubſcription was opened on the 1ſt of January 1781. Before the termination of the ſame month, however, his proſpects were once more clouded by the death of his honoured patron; an event which affected his mind with a degree of ſorrow that for a conſiderable ſpace of time rendered him incapable of any literary exertion. When his grief had ſubſided, and he returned to the taſk of tranſlation, he for the firſt time became ſenſible of the arduous nature of his undertaking, and of his inability to execute it to his own ſatisfaction. "Alarmed at this proſpect, he inſtantly reſolved to renounce the publication for the preſent," and in purſuance of this reſolution he returned to ſuch of the ſubſcribers as were within his reach, and were likely to receive the repayment, the money which they had reſpectively advanced.

A fortunate accident, having procured Mr. G. the patronage of the late earl Groſvenor, the engagements by which he was occupied, in conſequence of this connection, cauſed a ſtill farther ſuſpenſion of the promiſed work, which he at length found leiſure to complete and to publiſh. After having thus preſented our readers with an abridgment of its hiſtory, we ſhall proceed to examine it with the reſpectful attention which is due to the lucubrations of a ſcholar of diſtinguiſhed celebrity.

Mr. G. has prefixed to his tranſlation a Life of Juvenal, and an Eſſay on the Roman Satiriſts. The former is a ſlight enlargement of the meagre piece of biography which is commonly, though in all probability erroneouſly, aſcribed to Suetonius. For the ſtamina of the latter he modeſtly profeſſes to be indebted to the diſquiſitions of Dryden, Duſſaulx, and Rupert. It is however, if we are not much miſtaken, embelliſhed by many original obſervations of great importance; and certainly it may juſtly lay claim to the merit of that *lucidus ordo*, that clearneſs of arrangement, without which critical diſſertations are a mere chaos of ſentiment, from the

the perusal of which industry itself turns away with disgust. We are particularly pleased with the sagacity with which Mr. G. points out the influence which the circumstances of the respective ages, and histories of Lucilius, Horace, Persius and Juvenal, had in the suggestion of their topics, and the formation of their style. We shall quote his character of Juvenal, which we think peculiarly happy.

"Juvenal wrote at a period still more detestable than Persius. Domitian, who now governed the empire, seems to have inherited the bad qualities of all his predecessors. Tiberius was not more hypocritical, nor Caligula more bloody, nor Claudius more sottish, nor Nero more mischievous, than this ferocious despot; who, as Theodorus Gadareus indignantly declared of Tiberius, was truly ὕηλος ἁιματι πεφυραμενος, a lump of clay kneaded up with blood!

"Juvenal, like Persius, professes to follow Lucilius; but what was in one a simple attempt, is in the other a real imitation, of his manner*. Fluent and witty as Horace, grave and sublime as Persius; of a more decided character than the former, better acquainted with mankind than the latter, he did not confine himself to the mode of regulating an intercourse with the great, or to abstract disquisitions on the nature of scholastic liberty; but, disregarding the claims of a vain urbanity, and fixing all his soul on the eternal distinctions of moral good and evil, he laboured, with a magnificence of language peculiar to himself, to set forth the loveliness of virtue, and the deformity and horror of vice, in full and perfect display."

After having successfully defended Juvenal against some imputations of inferior consequence, Mr. G. thus ably repels the more serious charge of indecency.

"I should resign him in silence to the hatred of mankind, if his aim, like that of too many others, whose works are read with delight, had been to render vice amiable, to fling his seducing colours over impurity, and inflame the passions by meretricious hints at what is only innoxious when exposed in native deformity: but when I find that his views are to render depravity loathsome; that every thing which can alarm and disgust, is directed at her, in his terrible page, I forget the grossness of the execution in the excellence of the design; and pay my involuntary homage to that integrity, which fearlessly calling in strong description to the aid of virtue, attempts to purify the passions, at the hazard of wounding our delicacy, and offending our taste. This is due to Juvenal: in justice to myself, let me add, that I could have been better pleased to have had no occasion to speak at all on the subject."

* I believe that Juvenal meant to describe himself in the following spirited picture of Lucilius.

"Esse velut stricto quotics Lucilius ardens
"Infremuit, rubet auditor, cui frigida mens est
"Criminibus, tacita sudant præcordia culpa.

In

In purſuance of theſe ideas of the ſpirit and intentions of his author, Mr. G. has ventured, with a very few reſtrictions, to tranſlate thoſe paſſages of his Satires from which other Engliſh interpreters have ſhrunk with terror. Yet he has, in our opinion done this with ſuch ſkill, that he has fully attained his object, in making Juvenal "ſpeak as he would have ſpoken if he had lived amongſt us; when, refined with the age, he would have fulminated againſt impurity in terms, to which, though delicacy might diſavow them, manly decency might liſten without offence *."

We muſt at the ſame time obſerve, that whilſt we give Mr. G. our ſuffrage in commendation of the general decency of his tranſlation, we cannot but expreſs our ſurprize that he has hazarded a verſion of the ninth Satire. No dexterity of phraſe can ſoften the diſguſt which its abominable topics muſt, we truſt, ever excite in Britiſh minds; a diſguſt which cannot be compenſated by any utility—for "they that are whole have no need of a phyſician." We are alſo at a loſs to account for Mr. G's neglecting to notice the Rev. E. Owen, in his enumeration of the Engliſh tranſlators of Juvenal. That veteran ſcholar's performance evinces an accurate knowledge of the original; a delicate ſenſe of Juvenal's characteriſtic beauties, which claim the applauſe of the critic; and had he uniformly ſupported the ſpirit with which he has executed a great variety of paſſages in his verſion, he muſt have been no common man, who could ſucceſsfully have entered into competition with him. For theſe reaſons we think him well entitled to that honourable mention, which we are ſorry that Mr. G. has in this diſſertation withheld.

The firſt duty of a tranſlator is fully and faithfully to repreſent the meaning of his prototype. With regard to this main requiſite, we look upon Mr. G's verſion as unimpeachable. By the deligent ſtudy of the original, and of the works of contemporary writers, aſſiſted by a careful examination of the beſt comments on theſe ſatires, he has evidently rendered himſelf maſter of their contents. He has duly weighed the different interpretations which have been given of diſputed paſſages; and his deciſions appear to us to have been almoſt uniformly dictated by the ſuggeſtions of good ſenſe. Hence the notes with which he has enriched his work add not a little to its value.

But it is the duty of a tranſlator, not merely to interpret the ſentiments of his author, but alſo to convey a lively idea

* Eſſay, p. lxiii.

of

of his ſtyle and ſpirit. In the execution of this difficult taſk we eſteem Mr. G. upon the whole eminently ſucceſsful. He has ably imitated the ſtately march of Juvenal. The lofty and flowing diction of his original is well ſupported in verſification which Dryden might be proud to own as the reſult of his happieſt efforts. By the ſkilful variation of his pauſes he has avoided that monotony which fatigues the ear in the repetition of a long conſecutive ſeries of lines, each of which, when individually examined, is highly melodious.

The great diſproportion between the number of Juvenal's verſes and thoſe of Mr. G. led us to imagine that he had been betrayed into the error of too many tranſlators, who for the ſake of filling up a rhyme, introduce thoughts which are not to be found in their prototype. In this idea we were confirmed by obſerving, that in the beginning of the firſt ſatire the humour of

> Nota magis nulli domus eſt ſua, quam mihi lucus
> Martis, et Æoliis vicinum rupibus antrum
> Vulcani.————

is totally deſtroyed by the introduction of an intercalary line,

> " Away! I know not my own houſe ſo well
> *As the trite, threadbare themes on which you dwell,*
> Mars' grove and Vulcan's cave."

On a more diligent inqueſt, however, though we have certainly met with a few more inſtances of a ſimilar nature, we are induced to acquit Mr. G. of the imputation of habitual indulgence in this ſpecies of tranſgreſſion, and to attribute the dilatation of his verſion to the eſſential difference which ſubſiſts between the Engliſh and the Latin languages. The expreſſion of the relations and modes of nouns and verbs by the means of particles, enfeebles the modern languages of Europe, and compels the faithful tranſlator, of the ancient writers greatly to exceed in the number of words the limits of his original.

At the ſame time, however, that we willingly beſtow upon Mr. G. the commendation which we conceive to be his due, we muſt declare that we " have a few things againſt him." To apply to himſelf, with a ſlight alteration, his own words, " we muſt not paſs over a ſlovenlineſs in ſome of his lines, for which he may juſtly be reproached, as it would have coſt him ſo little pains to improve them." This ſlovenlineſs generally occurs in the tranſlation of thoſe paſſages in which Juvenal in vain attempts, what ſeems to have been contrary to his nature, to be playful with grace. Mr. G., like his prototype, ſhines

ſhines in the heart-felt commendation of exalted virtue, or in the terrific denunciation of vengeance againſt atrocious vice. But when he ſtrives to condeſcend to familiarity he frequently ſtoops too low.

Thus, whilſt the awful invective againſt hypocritical debauchery contained in the Second Satire glows in "words that burn;" the humbler ſtyle of the firſt, in Mr. G's verſion, too frequently degenerates into vulgarity. For inſtance, the impudence of the freedman, demanding the preference at the diſtribution of the dole, appears to us to be exhibited in language much too coarſe. The original has nothing of the low quaintneſs of

——— "*Firſt come, you know,*
"*Firſt ſerv'd, and I may claim my right, I trow.*"

Nor does it ſink ſo much as to repreſent the patrician as tending flocks for "a groat a day;" or afford an exemplar for "tut! I can buy them all."

In the interview between the paſſenger and the ſtreet-walking bully, in the Third Satire, the plebeian phraſe "*to wag your cheeks*" is not juſtified by Juvenal's *comedit*, and certainly tends to degrade an attempt at comedy into a ſpecimen of farce.

We cannot but regard Juvenal's invocation to the Muſes, in the Fourth Satire, as an unſucceſsful effort to ſlide into the humourous; but in Mr. G's tranſlation the failure is more conſpicuous:

"Pierian maids begin: this claims your care,
"But not to ſing; a ſimple fact is here.
"Recount it then; and by your ready aids
"Prove it avails me to have call'd you maids."

And in the Fifth Satire, Mr. G. thus caricatures the inſolent addreſs of the ſlave to the humble gueſt of the minion of fortune:

Vis tu conſuetis, audax conviva caniſtris
Impleri, paniſque tui noviſſe colorem?

——— "Saucy gueſt,
"They frown and cry, what! wilt thou ne'er divine
"What's for thy patron's tooth, and what for thine;
"*Never take notice from what trough thou'rt fed,*
"Nor know the colour of thy proper bread?"

In the Sixth Satire, alſo

——— "And *idly poke*
"*Thy awkward noſe* into the marriage yoke,"—

is ſurely too *ſlang-like* a tranſlation of

Stulta maritali jam porrigit ora Capiſtro;

We

We could glean more inſtances of this negligence of ſtyle; but what we have already exhibited, will be ſufficient to anſwer our purpoſe; which is not invidiouſly to collect into one view all the faulty paſſages which occur in Mr. G's book, but to demonſtrate that we have not fixed upon that gentleman the imputation of occaſional careleſſneſs, without good reaſon.

We are ſurprized to find, in the courſe of Mr. G's verſes, ſo many faulty rhymes, ſuch as, hear and care—bare and ſpear—betrays and diſeaſe—diſclaim and theme—fears and ſhares—care and here—defeat and wait. We are well aware that on the ſubject of rhyme an indulgence is uſually conceded to a lengthened poem, which is not allowed to ſhorter compoſitions. But after making all allowances, we are of opinion that a critic of no faſtidious ear will find in this tranſlation of Juvenal too numerous a collection of couplets, which cannot be reduced to the requiſite chime without the adoption of barbariſm in pronunciation.

When, however, we conſider the general impreſſion made upon our minds by the peruſal of this work, theſe ſlight inaccuracies vaniſh as it were from our view; and whilſt in the exerciſe of the minuteneſs of critical inſpection we mark them with a note of diſapprobation, we cannot but eſteem this caſe as analagous to that ſtated by Horace:

——— "*Velut ſi*
"*Egregio inſperſos reprendas corpore nævos.*"

In order that ſuch of our readers as have not yet had an opportunity of peruſing Mr. G's tranſlation may be enabled to form ſome idea of its general ſtyle and merits, we ſhall quote from it a few ſtriking paſſages.

The indignant concluſion of the firſt ſatire, has afforded him a happy occaſion of displaying his talents for invective:

"Nothing is left—nothing for future times,
To add to the full catalogue of crimes;
The baffled ſons muſt feel the ſame deſires,
And act the ſame mad follies as their ſires.
Vice has attain'd its zenith.—Then, ſet ſail,
Spread all thy canvass to the favouring gale—
F. Hold:—Where's the genius for ſo vaſt a theme?
And where the liberty? Or doſt thou dream
Of that rude plainneſs, (plainneſs, that I dare
Nor name, nor hint at;) which allow'd, whilere,
Our ſires to pour on vice without controul,
The impaſſion'd dictates of the kindling ſoul?
Touch Tigellinus now, and thou ſhall ſhine,
(Such the vaſt difference 'twixt their days and thine,)

In that pitch'd ſhirt in which ſuch crowds expire,
Chain'd to the bloody ſtake, and wrapt in fire;
Or writhing on a hook, be dragg'd around,
And with thy mangled members plough the ground.
J. What! ſhall the man who drugg'd three uncles, three!
Tow'r by in triumph, and look down on me!
F. Yes; let him look. He comes: avoid his way,
And on your lip your cautious finger lay:
Crowds of informers follow in his rear,
And if you ſay but "Lo!" will overhear.
Bring, if you will, Æneas on the ſtage,
Once more the fierce Rutilian to engage.
Make ſtern Achilles bleed in epic ſtrain,
And "Hylas! Hylas!" fill the ſhore in vain.
Harmleſs, nay pleaſant, ſhall your verſe be found,
You bare no ulcer, and you probe no wound.
But when Lucilius, fired with virtuous rage,
Nerves his bold arm to ſcourge an impious age;
The conſcious villain ſhudders at his ſin,
And burning bluſhes ſpeak the pangs within;
Cold drops of ſweat from every member roll,
And growing terrors harrow up his ſoul.
Then tears of ſhame, and dire revenge ſucceed—
Say; have you ponder'd well th' adventurous deed?
Now—ere the trumpet ſound—your ſtrength debate;
The ſoldier once engaged, repents too late.
J. Yet I muſt write; and ſince theſe iron times,
From living knaves, preclude my angry rhymes,
I point my pen againſt the guilty dead,
And pour its gall on each obnoxious head."

The pathetic exhortation contained in the following extract from the third ſatire is beautifully expreſſed.

" For who is lov'd, in theſe degenerate times,
But he whoſe conſcious boſom ſwells with crimes;
With monſtrous crimes, he never muſt impart,
Though the dire ſecret burſt his labouring heart?
They owe, they pay thee nothing, who prepare
To truſt an honeſt ſecret to thy care;
But, a diſhoneſt!—there they feel thy power,
And buy thy friendſhip high from hour to hour.
But let not all that Tagus' waves contain,
Nor all the gold they pour into the main,
Be deem'd a bribe ſufficient, to requite
Thy loſs of peace by day, of ſleep by night:—
O take not, take not what thy ſoul rejects,
Nor ſell the faith which he who buys ſuſpects!

We alſo eſteem Mr. G. ſingularly happy in his verſion of the famous deſcription of the true poet, which occurs in the 7th ſatire.

" Th' infati-

" Th' infatiate itch of ſcribbling, hateful peſt!
Creeps, like a tetter, through the human breaſt,
Nor knows, nor hopes a cure; ſince years, which chill
All other paſſions, fire this growing ill.
But he, the bard of every age and clime,
Of genius fruitful, and of ſoul ſublime,
Who, from the glowing mint of fancy, pours
No ſpurious metal, fuſed from common ores,
But gold to matchleſs purity refined,
And ſtamp'd with all the godhead in his mind;
He whom I feel, but have not power to paint,
Springs from the breaſt impatient of reſtraint,
And free from every care; a breaſt that loves
The Muſes' haunts, clear ſprings and ſhady groves.
Never, no never, did he wildly rave,
And ſhake his thyrſus in the Aonian cave;
Whom poverty kept ſober, and the cries
Of a lean ſtomach, clamorous for ſupplies:
No; the wine circled briſkly through the veins
Of Horace, when he pour'd his dithyrambic ſtrains!
What room for fancy, ſay; unleſs the mind,
And all its thoughts, to poetry reſign'd,
Be hurried with reſiſtleſs force along,
By the two kindred powers, wine and ſong!
Oh! 'tis the excluſive buſineſs of a breaſt
Impetuous, uncontroll'd, not one diſtreſt
About a rug at night, to paint th' abodes,
The ſteeds, the chariots, and the forms of gods;
And the fierce Fury, as her ſnakes ſhe ſhook,
And wither'd the Rutulian with a look—
Thoſe ſnakes, had Virgil no Mæcenas found,
Had dropt, in liſtleſs length, upon the ground;
And the loud trump, that rous'd the world to arms,
Languiſh'd in ſilence, guiltleſs of alarms.
Yet we expect from Lappa's tragic rage,
Such ſcenes as graced of old the Athenian ſtage:
Though he, poor man! from hand to mouth be fed,
And driv'n to pawn his furniture for bread!"

We are ſorry to obſerve, that Mr. G. has been provoked by the ſeverity of the ſtrictures of one of our critical brethren, to appeal to the tribunal of the public at large. The pamphlet which he has publiſhed on this occaſion is certainly written with conſiderable power; but after all it tends to prolong the remembrance of remarks which, whatever be their juſtice or injuſtice, (a queſtion into which, for obvious reaſons, we are by no means diſpoſed to enter) were, by the mode of their publication, only calculated to live their " little month."

ART. VI. *General Zoology, or Syſtematic Natural Hiſtory; By George Shaw, M. D. F. R. S.* Vol. IV. pp. 632, 98 plates. price £.2. 12*s*. 6*d*. Kearſley.

THE progreſs of Natural Hiſtory, in theſe iſlands, has been greatly impeded by the want of a complete ſyſtem of Zoology in the Engliſh language; and on the death of Mr. Pennant we deſpaired of finding a ſucceſſor in the illuſtrious ſchool of Britiſh naturaliſts, who, with his taſte, judgment, and erudition, ſhould unite thoſe habits of perſevering induſtry which are requiſite in the conſtruction of ſo vaſt a fabric. We were moſt agreeably relieved from our deſpondency by the publication of the firſt volume of the work before us; and have continued our attention to the ſubſequent portions of it with unabated ſatisfaction. Of Dr. Shaw's merit in various departments of natural hiſtory the public have been long in poſſeſſion of many honourable teſtimonials; and on his talents as a writer a very high encomium has been pronounced by a ſcholar of diſtinguiſhed eminence, from whoſe judgment it can ſeldom be creditable to diſſent *.

The earlier volumes of this work appeared at a time too remote from the commencement of our journal to juſtify our entering into a minute examination of their contents. We ſhall therefore leave our readers to collect from the review of the preſent volume, our ſentiments concerning the plan and execution of the whole. The ſubjects are arranged according to the ſyſtem of Linnæus, with ſuch improvements and corrections as were rendered neceſſary by the diſcovery of new ſpecies, or a more familiar acquaintance with thoſe which had been before deſcribed. In order to evince the great utility of ſuch an undertaking, if properly executed, and to convey ſome repreſentation of the value and extent of the additions made within a few years to our ſtore of natural knowledge, we have thought proper to compare the preſent work with the laſt edition of the *Syſtema Naturæ* by Gmelin; and to notice ſome of the moſt important changes which Dr. Shaw has introduced into the nomenclature and claſſification of that tribe of animals which forms the ſubject of the work before us.

The *Muræna* of Linnæus, and other fiſhes nearly allied to them, are claſſed under five genera, diſtinguiſhed by the preſence or abſence of pectoral fins, and the number and ſituation of the ſpiracles. The *M. Cæca*, notwithſtanding the

* Dr. Parr.

refinements

refinements of Camper, has been very properly reſtored to its rank among the amphibia deſcribed in a former volume. In the genus *Anguilla* we are ſorry to obſerve, that two ſpecies out of five contradict the generic character: a defect which might be remedied, we apprehend, without eſtabliſhing a new genus to receive them, after the example of La Cepède. In the laſt volume of the *Hiſtoire Naturelle des Poiſſons*, we meet with a third ſpecies of *Ophiſurus*, which renders the reviſion we propoſe ſtill more deſirable. The author appears to have made no uſe of Thunberg's Diſſertation, *De Muræna et Ophichtho*.

The genus *Monopterus* conſiſts of a ſingle ſpecies, deſcribed by Cepède from the manuſcripts of Commerſon. In form this animal reſembles the eel; but the noſtrils are not tubular, nor are they ſituated, as in moſt fiſhes, before the eyes, but above them. The body is deſtitute of fins, and the caudal fin is without any perceptible rays. It is a native of the Indian ſeas; and is common on the coaſts of Java, where it is conſidered as excellent food.

A new ſpecies of *Ophidium* is adopted from Dr. Ruſſel's Hiſtory of Aleppo. This appears to us to be the *Macrognathe armé* deſcribed by Cepède (Tom. II. page 286.) from an imperfect ſpecimen in the cabinet of the Prince of Orange. The author has ſubſtituted Bloch's trivial name of *Roſtratum* for the *O. Aculeatum* of Linnæus, as being highly characteriſtic, and more appropriate ſince the preceding ſpecies is marked down the back as far as the beginning of the dorſal fin, with a row of thirty-two ſharp ſpines; and has two ſhort ſpines at the origin of the vent-fin, and a third at a little diſtance further on the abdomen. *O. Viride* is omitted.

Odontognathus, a new genus, inſtituted by Cepède, the eſſential character of which conſiſts in two long, flat, denticulated plates, of a ſcaly ſubſtance, which are attached on each ſide of the upper, and are moveable by the action of the lower jaw. It contains but one ſpecies, common on the coaſts of Cayenne, where it ranks in the number of edible fiſhes.

Comephorus. (Cep.) The firſt placed in this genus was deſcribed by Dr. Pallas, as a ſpecies of *Callionymus*, and improperly referred to the jugular fiſhes, as it wants the ventral fins. The pectoral fins are very long, reaching half way down the body; and it appears to be capable, not only of ſwimming ſwiftly, but perhaps of ſpringing occaſionally out of the water, ſomewhat in the manner of a flying fiſh.

Triurus, (Cep.) *T. Commerſonii*, diſcovered by Commerſon in the ſtomach of a ſpecies of *Scomber*, taken in the Pacific

Ocean: and named by him *Tricaud* or *Bacha de la Mer*, as the dorſal and anal fins extend beyond the tail, which on a ſlight view appears to be compoſed of three diſtinct parts.

Stylephorus. This highly-ſingular genus was firſt deſcribed by the author in the year 1788, from a ſpecimen then introduced into the Leverian Muſeum, and figured in the Linnæan Tranſactions. The only ſpecies of which it conſiſts at preſent derives its generic name from the very extraordinary ſituation of the eyes, each of which is placed on a ſhort thick peduncle or column. The trivial name, *chordatus*, was ſuggeſted by a thread-like proceſs of enormous length, which is added to the tail.

Anarhichas minor is left out, and the *A. Strigoſus* admitted with heſitation into the laſt edition of the *Syſt. Nat.* is regarded only as a variety of *A. Lupus*, in which the duſky bands of the body are narrower and ſomewhat leſs regular than uſual, as in the ſpecimen engraved in the Britiſh Zoology.

The genus *Xiphias* is enlarged by the addition of three new ſpecies, viz: 1, *X. Platypterus*, the *Scomber Gladius* of Bloch: 2, *X. Makaira* (quære, *Mackæra?*) of La Cepède: and 3, the "Round-ſnouted ſword-fiſh" deſcribed by the ſame author from the ſword or ſnout preſerved, with the fore part of the head, in the Paris Muſeum. We ſhall relieve the attention of our readers, from a dry catalogue of innovations, by preſenting them with a ſpecimen of Dr. Shaw's ſtyle and manner in his deſcription of the

Broad-finned Sword-fish.

"Xiphias Platypterus. X. pinna dorſali latiſſima, appendicibus pectoralibus acuminatis longiſſimis.

Sword fiſh with extremely broad back-fin, and very long ſharp-pointed thoracic appendages. Nat. Miſcell. vol. III. pl. 88.

Guebucu. Marcgr. Bras. l. 4. c. 15. p. 71.

Scomber Gladius. S. roſtro enisformi, Bloch. 10. p. 69. t. 345.

In the appearance of the long and ſharp-pointed proceſs of this upper jaw, this ſpecies is very nearly allied to the common ſword-fiſh, but differs in other ſtriking particulars. It is found of the length of twenty feet, and even ſometimes much longer. It was firſt deſcribed by Marcgrave, in his Natural Hiſtory of Brazil, who has illuſtrated his deſcription by a figure, which though not poſſeſſing any degree of elegance, is yet ſufficient to aſcertain the animal. The general colour of this fiſh, is a ſilvery blueiſh-white, except on the back, head, tail, and fins, which in the living animal are of a deep blue, fading into brown in the dried ſpecimens, one of which is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, to which collection it was preſented by Sir Joſeph Banks, Bart. Preſident

of

of the Royal Society. Some years ago a letter was ſent to the Preſident from the captain of an Eaſt Indiaman, accompanied by an account of an aſtoniſhing inſtance of the powerful ſtrength which this fiſh occaſionally exerts; the bottom of the ſhip having been pierced through by a fiſh of this ſpecies, in ſuch a manner that the ſword or ſnout was completely embedded, or driven through almoſt to its baſe; the animal having been killed by the violence of the effort. A moſt ſingularly-fortunate circumſtance for the preſervation of the veſſel, which, had the fiſh been enabled to have withdrawn its ſnout, muſt inevitably have foundered in conſequence of the leak. The wood, together with the ſword embedded in it, is now in the Britiſh Muſeum.

This fiſh is found not only in the Braſilian and Eaſt-Indian ſeas, but alſo in the Northern Ocean. It is ſaid to be a great enemy to whales, with which it is reported to have frequent combats. It is remarkable, that Pliny mentions the circumſtance of the ſword-fiſh being able to transfix veſſels, which has generally been regarded as one of thoſe exaggerations ſo frequent in the works of the ancient naturaliſts: but ſince the preſent fiſh is well known to poſſeſs this power, (ſeveral other equally well-atteſted accounts having been received within theſe few years), it is ſurely no improbable ſuppoſition that Pliny, though not conſcious of the difference, in reality ſpoke of this very ſpecies, which at that time was doubtleſs confounded with the common ſword-fiſh.

In the arrangement of this animal, I have ventured to differ from Dr. Bloch, who, notwithſtanding its general appearance, its ſword-ſhaped ſnout, and other particulars in which it evidently proclaims itſelf a genuine Xiphias, has placed it among the thoracic fiſhes as a ſpecies of the genus Scomber, conſidering the long proceſſes beneath the breaſt as a kind of pectoral fins. Dr. Bloch ſeems alſo to have conſidered the finny proceſſes above and below the tail, together with the prominences on each ſide that part, as ſufficient to juſtify his claſſification of the animal. It may be added that Piſo, in his deſcription of this fiſh, compares its viſcera to thoſe of the tunny.

Dr. Bloch informs us, that when this ſpecies does not exceed the length of about four feet it is conſidered as an eatable fiſh, but is too coarſe when it exceeds that length."

In the genus *Stromateus*, the *S. Cumarca* of Molina is omitted; and three new ſpecies are inſerted from Bloch.

Callionymus Baikalenſis, removed to the *apodal* fiſhes, ought to have been omitted. *Uranoſcopus Japonicus* omitted. *Trachinus Oſbeckii*, introduced after the example of Cepède, from Oſbeck's voyage to China. *Gadus Leverianus*, deſcribed from a ſpecimen in the Leverian Muſeum, ſuppoſed to be a native of the Southern Ocean, being placed in a collection of fiſhes, taken during the laſt voyage of Captain Cook. La Cepède (Tom. II. 449.) mentions a beardleſs cod, with two

dorſal fins, of which a deſcription occurs among the papers of Commerſon, who accompanied Bougainville in his voyage round the world. He is diſpoſed to think it is the *G. Merluccius*, or hake; had he condeſcended to quote his author's words, we might perhaps have been enabled to aſcertain its identity with the ſpecies now eſtabliſhed by Dr. Shaw.

Blennius. The new ſpecies are: 1. *B. Saliens*, a ſmall fiſh obſerved by Commerſon, about the coaſts of ſome of the Southern iſlands, and particularly thoſe of New Britain. It ſeems to be of a gregarious nature; and is ſeen ſwimming in ſhoals, and as it were flying over the ſurface of the water, occaſionally ſpringing up and down with great rapidity among the rocks. Its form is admirably adapted to theſe movements, the pectoral fins being very large in proportion to the body. They are nearly of a circular form when expanded, and when contracted, reach almoſt as far as the vent on each ſide. This approach in point of form to ſeveral other fiſhes, which poſſeſs the faculty of temporary flight, ſeems to indicate a ſimilar property. 2. *B. Punctulatus* deſcribed by Cepède, from a ſpecimen in the National Muſeum. 3. *B. Boſcianus*, an American ſpecies, diſcovered by M. Boſe. It is nearly allied to *B. Pholis*, and like that ſpecies bites hard when taken. 4. The trifurcated hake of Pennant.

Cepola Hermanniana, placed by Cepède in a diſtinct genus under the title of *Jænioides*. In point of natural affinity, it may be conſidered as equally allied to the genera of *Cepola* and *Trichiurus*.

Gymnetrus Aſcanii. This extraordinary fiſh ſeems to have been almoſt unknown till within the ſpace of a few years paſt; nor are its characters and hiſtory ſo diſtinctly aſcertained as might be wiſhed. It is a native of the northern ſeas, and was firſt deſcribed by Profeſſor Aſcanius. It is ſaid to be generally ſeen either preceding or accompanying the ſhoals of herrings, for which reaſon it is popularly known by the title of *King of the Herrings*. Dr. Shaw ſubjoins the figure and deſcription of a fiſh taken near Viſagapatam, which he is inclined to regard as a variety of the preceding ſpecies, or an animal of the ſame ſpecies, differing only in ſex or age. He mentions a dried ſpecimen of a fiſh belonging to this genus in the Britiſh Muſeum; which was not ſufficiently perfect to admit of a very exact deſcription. *G. Blochii:* a native of the Indian and occaſionally ſeen in the European ſeas. Deſcribed by Dr. Bloch from a drawing communicated to him by J. Hawkins, eſq. It appears from a print publiſhed in the year 1798, that a ſpecimen of this fiſh was thrown on the coaſt of Cornwall in the month of February in that year.

G. Lancco-

C. Lanceolatus. This, which muſt be conſidered as a doubtful ſpecies, is deſcribed by Cepède from a Chineſe drawing in the collection of the Prince of Orange. It is referred to the preſent genus, from the circumſtance of its wanting the anal fin, and has obtained its trivial name from the ſhape of its tail, which is pointed at the extremity.

Vandellius. One ſpecies only, of which a dried ſpecimen in good preſervation occurs in the Britiſh Muſeum. It is found, though very rarely, in the Mediterranean and Atlantic ſeas; has been ſometimes taken near Liſbon; and was conſidered by Dr. Vandelli of Coimbra, as nearly allied to the genus *Trichiurus.*

Echencis Lineata, from the Linnæan Tranſactions: an inhabitant of the Pacific Ocean, diſcovered by Mr. Menzies.

Three new ſpecies of *Coryphæna* are deſcribed. The C. *Chryſurus,* is, we believe, delineated in Govenor Phillip's voyage to Botany Bay. *Plate oppoſite p.* 282. The C. *Rupeſtris* is placed alone in a ſeparate genus, formed for it by Dr. Bloch, and entitled *Macrourus.*

Gobiomorus. (Cep.) Intended to receive thoſe gobies which differ from the genuine ſpecies in having the ventral fins ſeparate. It includes therefore *G. Striatus* (here named *Auſtralis*) Kölreuteri, and *Piſonis,* in addition to two new ſpecies, natives of South America. Four ſpecies are added to the original genus from Cepède. Three additional ſpecies are deſcribed belonging to *Cottus,* five to *Scorpæna,* and twelve to *Pleuronectes.*

The genus *Acauthurus* conſiſts of ſuch ſpecies of the Linnæan genus *Chætodon,* as, in contradiction to the principal character of that genus, have in general moderately broad and ſtrong teeth, rather than ſlender or ſetaceous ones. They are alſo furniſhed on each ſide with one or more ſtrong ſpines. The original genus is augmented by ſeventeen, and the new genus by ſeven ſpecies, none of which are contained in the *Syſt. Nat.* The author copies the example of Dr. Bloch, in placing the *C. Lanceolatus* in a diſtinct genus, under the title of *Eques.* Its teeth, inſtead of being placed in a ſingle row, are diſpoſed in ſeveral concentric rings.

Trichopus. The fiſhes belonging to this genus, are deſcribed by Cepède, from the manuſcripts and drawings of Commerſon. They are natives of the Indian ſeas and rivers; and, with the exception of a ſingle ſpecies, are diſtinguiſhed by the remarkable length of one ray of the ventral fins, which extends the whole length of the body, or even beyond it. Into this genus are admitted the *Labrus Gallus,* and *L. Trichopterus* of Linnæus,

Scarus.

Scarus. Five new ſpecies deſcribed from Bloch and Cepède. The genus *Sparus* is prodigiouſly enlarged by new ſpecies, and the removal of others from the genera of *Labrus*, *Sciæna*, and *Perca*.

Gomphoſus, a new genus, inſtituted by Cepède from the manuſcripts of Commerſon, contains two ſpecies, both natives of the Indian ſeas, and both agreeing in the remarkable form of the mouth, which conſiſts of a tubular proceſs ſomewhat truncated at the tip.

Numerous additions are made to *Labrus*. *Ophicephalus*, a new genus formed by Dr. Bloch, contains two ſpecies firſt deſcribed by that excellent Ichthyologiſt. *Lonchurus*, another of Dr. Bloch's genera contains a ſingle ſpecies. Theſe two genera, conſidered in point of natural arrangement, ſeem to have a greater affinity to the genus *Sciæna* than to any other. With *Sciæna*, which has loſt many of its former members, nine new ſpecies are incorporated.

Holocentrus. Bl. Habit of a Perch, diſtinguiſhed by aculeated opercula; and hard and rough ſcales. Thirty-ſix ſpecies, including one from *Sciæna*, and ten from *Perca*. For the remainder, the public are indebted to Dr. Bloch.

Bodianus. Bl. differs from the preceding genus, by having ſmooth ſcales. Conſiſts of fifteen ſpecies, of which the greater part have been deſcribed by Bloch, from the drawings of Prince Maurice of Naſſau.

Scomber. Twenty-four new ſpecies. The genus *Centrogaſter* aboliſhed, and its ſpecies transferred to this family. *Gaſteroſteous* parts with one ſpecies to *Scomber*. The *G. Biaculeatus*, or two-ſpined ſtickle-back, mentioned by Mr. Pennant, on the authority of Dr. Forſter, is the only addition to this genus that we have remarked. *Mullus* augmented by four ſpecies from Cepède, two from Dr. Ruſſel, and one from Bloch. *Trigla*. Four ſpecies are deſcribed, which are not found in the *Syſt. Nat.* *Trachichthys*, a new genus conſiſting only of a ſingle ſpecies, firſt deſcribed by the author in the Naturaliſt's Miſcellany.

The fifth volume of this work, which will complete the Natural Hiſtory of Fiſhes, will be publiſhed early in the preſent year. The analyſis which we undertook having extended to a length greatly beyond our expectation, we ſhall refer our readers to a future number for a few remarks on the conduct and execution of Dr. Shaw's performance.

ART. VII. *The Progreſs of Maritime Diſcovery, from the earlieſt period, to the cloſe of the Eighteenth Century, forming an extenſive Syſtem of Hydrography. By James Stanier Clarke, F. R. S. Domeſtic Chaplain to* THE PRINCE, *and Vicar of Preſton.* Vol. I. pp. about 1000; with the Charts ſeparated. Cadell and Davies: price £.3. 8*s.*

ORDER and arrangement in any branch of ſcience are neceſſary to the proper elucidation of facts, and to render the ſtudy of it moſt intereſting and beneficial. In every department of hiſtorical information we muſt aſcend to the ſources, if we would underſtand the true connection and and dependence which one event has upon thoſe which preceded it, or by what means each has originated. With this view the ſtudent will always feel grateful to the hiſtorian who undertakes to form a regular narrative of thoſe facts which are only to be found ſcattered in an immenſe number of volumes.

To the United Kingdoms, on account of their extended commerce, and the vaſtneſs of their colonial poſſeſſions in almoſt every part of the globe, no hiſtory can be more intereſting and important than that before us. The " Progreſs of Maritime Diſcovery," arreſted our attention when the ſubject was firſt propoſed by its learned and induſtrious author, and it will undoubtedly attract the regards of the Britiſh ſtateſman, with whoſe mind the whole ſubject ſhould be familiar; of the navigator, who will render the knowledge of former diſcoveries ſubſervient to preſent and future enterprizes; and to the merchant who bounds his hopes and expectations of gain by no particular country, or continent, but is ambitious of making every nation and climate tributary to his induſtry and commercial ſpeculations. To the general reader, this work will be a valuable guide and introduction to ſubſequent ſtudies in the ſame branch of knowledge.

Before we analyze the volume it will be expected that there ſhould be firſt given a general idea of its contents. The introductory part, which conſiſts of two hundred and thirty pages, contains a progreſſive memoir of the maritime diſcoveries by the Cuthites, the Phœnicians, the Greeks, Carthaginians, and Romans. In the body of the work is a review of the early periods of Portugueſe Hiſtory, prior to the fifteenth century: an account is afterwards given of their moſt diſtinguiſhed writers on Portugueſe Aſia and America, and the hiſtory of their diſcoveries from the reign of John the firſt in 1385, to the arrival of Gama in 1498, on the coaſt of Malabar. In an Appendix of conſiderable length are ſeveral curious and ſcarce

ſcarce tracts relating to navigation, which are intended to elucidate the other parts of the volume.

The plan of this great undertaking was, we are informed, originally projected under the auſpices, and with the approbation of earl Spencer, who preſided at the board of Admiralty, and the arrangement of the whole was formed by admiral Payne (lately deceaſed), of whom our author ſpeaks with reſpect and gratitude:

"Under this eminent officer," ſays he, "my attention was firſt directed to Naval Literature. His ardent mind pointed out whatever of novelty or of utility had hitherto been neglected; and whilſt his genius caſt new light on the deſiderata thus preſented, his Converſation cheered my fatigue, and his Enthuſiam prolonged my induſtry.

"When I contemplated the next object that offered, I trembled at its magnitude: my profeſſional duties were increaſed; and I felt that I not only wanted the ability, but the leiſure, requiſite to complete an undertaking ſo great, as the progreſs of Maritime Diſcovery from the earlieſt period to the cloſe of the eighteenth Century. Whilſt I heſitated, the importunity of Friendſhip increaſed, and at length prevailed. It repeatedly urged, that a Complete Syſtem of Hydrography was wanted by the literary world, and particularly by naval men; that it would prove an eſſential ſervice to future navigators, to have the principal Diſcoveries of their predeceſſors connected and arranged; that a peruſal of the numerous works relative to this ſubject demanded rather the leiſure of a Recluſe than the agitated and interrupted day, which the Mariner conſtantly experiences."

The preface contains alſo ſhort notices of all the principal COLLECTIONS of Voyages that have been publiſhed in different countries, beginning with that of Simon Grynoens printed at Paris in 1532, and continuing to the preſent times. To an account of the volumes, are added, intereſting biographical ſketches of the compilers.

Mr. Clarke denominates his introduction, an "Hiſtorical Memoir of Ancient Maritime Diſcoveries," which is divided into four ſections, the *firſt* of theſe is a review of the ſubject from the earlieſt periods; the ſecond, of the ſacred periods; the third, of the Grecian periods; and the fourth, of the Carthaginian periods.

It will be readily conceded to our author, that he has omitted no opportunity of reſearch, in tracing back this ſcience to its earlieſt origin; perhaps a leſs elaborate account of what is ſuppoſed to have happened in thoſe periods, concerning which there are no remaining written documents, might have been equally ſatisfactory to the perſons for whom his work is chiefly intended. By the antiquary and the man of leiſure, Mr. Clarke's introduction will be properly appreciated, but men immerſed in the cares and buſineſs of life, who are deſirous

of applying all their knowledge to advance their intereſt, and extend the diſcoveries already made, will feel little inclined to trace the origin of aſtronomy and navigation to ages beyond the flood. When the grave hiſtorian indulges unneceſſarily in the regions of conjecture, or when he allows too great weight to ingenious theories of other perſons, it has, we apprehend, an injurious tendency upon the mind of the reader, it may even lead him to undervalue thoſe ſpeculations which are founded on, or flow from, facts of general notoriety.

As ingenious, and perhaps probable, we do not object to the opinion of M. Baillie, in his Hiſtory of Aſtronomy, "that the firſt diſcovery of the form of the earth was made by philoſophical travellers, who purſuing a ſoutherly courſe, obſerved unknown ſtars appearing above the horizon, which they again loſt on their return: but, we cannot, with Mr. Clarke, treat with ſo much reſpect the ſuppoſition, although ſupported by Mr. Maurice, that the knowledge of the Mariner's compaſs, of the Clepſydra, and the pendulum, with their ſeveral philoſophical uſes, were familar to the antediluvians; nor with the hiſtorian of the eaſt can we ſee any ground for believing in the exiſtence of an antediluvian ſphere. The ſciences might have flouriſhed from Adam to Noah for any thing that we know to the contrary, and there are ſome traces of the arts in the ſhort account given by Moſes of the years before the Flood; but if we admit all that M. Baillie, Mr. Bryant, and Mr. Maurice aſſume as highly probable, it will be difficult to draw the line which ſhall terminate our theories on ſubjects connected with the dark ages of antiquity.

We wiſh not to be underſtood, by theſe obſervations, as lightly eſteeming the labours of the gentlemen to whom we have alluded, but we think that leſs of this ſort of hiſtory, in a work of obvious practical utility, would have been deemed ſufficient.

In Noah's ark, Mr. Clarke ſees the origin of naval architecture, "conſtructed," ſays he, "without either ſails or oars, rudder or anchor, its progreſs and preſervation were alike miraculous, and needed not the aſſiſtance of any inferior or ſecondary power. The abyſs on which this THEBATH floated, like the deſert through which the children of Iſrael paſſed, offered no point to which a courſe might be directed by human ingenuity; in both inſtances the immediate interference of Omniſcience was neceſſary and apparent." Hence the author follows the narrative given by Moſes, in preference to any other authority; and to the deſcription of the Ark, with the dimenſions of its ſeveral parts, he has given an account

account of veſſels built on the ſame conſtruction by Peter Janſon, a Dutch merchant, and Peter Hans of Horne; by which the theory of Biſhop Wilkins was completely eſtabliſhed, "that if the ableſt mathematicians had been conſulted, they could not have proportioned the ſort of veſſel more accurately;" it being proved that ſhips built in this manner were beyond all others moſt commodious for commerce, becauſe they would hold one-third part more, without requiring any additional hands.

We cannot follow our author in his diſquiſition relating to Mount Ararat; to the appellations given by Pagans to the Ark, and the titles aſſigned to Noah, and the Dove. Theſe and other ſubjects are diſcuſſed with candour, learning, and ingenuity. The authorities to which he refers are reſpectable, and entitled to the attention of thoſe who would wiſh for information on theſe topics. An abridged account of what Mr. Clarke has ſaid on the Origin of Maps and Charts, and of Nautical Colleges and Light Houſes, will ſhow his mode of reaſoning on ſubjects connected with antiquity:

"As the overflowing of the Nile, whoſe ancient name was *Ogenus* or *The Ocean*, carried away the different boundaries by which various diviſions of landed property were aſcertained, it is conjectured, that in Egypt we muſt look for the firſt invention of *Charts*. Clemens Alexandrinus notices the early maps of the Egyptians, and their charts of the Nile.—The inhabitants of Colchis, who came from Egypt, conſtructed charts that deſcribed the ſeas, and ſhores, where their commerce was carried on; and it appears from the Scholiaſt upon Apollonius Rhodius, that the Colchians had ſquare pillars of ſtone on which maps of the Continent, and charts of the Ocean were engraved. Mr. Bryant does not, however, admit that this branch of ſcience came from the native Egyptians, but that in fact it proceeded from the ingenuity of the *Cuthites* or Shepherds, who ſettled in that country, who founded Athens and Thebes, and from them alone aſtronomy and geometry muſt be traced.

"By the ſame people who inhabited Lower Egypt the towers were conſtructed on the ſhore, as ſea-marks by day, and light-houſes by night. Theſe were alſo temples, denominated from ſome title of the Deity, to which mariners reſorted, and which they enriched by their votive offerings.

"The celebrated, though miſ-named column at Alexandria, called Pompey's Pillar, ſeems to have been originally conſtructed as a ſacred beacon, which the lowneſs of the coaſt of Egypt required.—The preſent pillar at Alexandria was conſtructed on the ruins of a former one—and ſimilar pillars, ſacred to Hercules, were placed near Gades, and other places of this ſort, at which mariners came on ſhore to make their offerings, and to inquire about the ſucceſs of their voyage. There was of old hardly any head-land but what had its temple

temple or altar, and as theſe Colonæ were ſacred to the Apollo of Greece, he in conſequence was often called the tutelar god of the coaſt.

" The Amonians, who firſt conſtructed theſe ſacred Maritime Temples, gave them the name of *Tar* or *Tor*, which ſignified both an hill and a tower; when compounded, they were ſtyled *Tor-Is*, or Fire-Towers; and hence the Greeks derived their τυρρις, and τυρσος, which they at length changed to ταυρος, a bull: thus a new opening was made to indulge their fabulous propenſity.

" When the Hetrurians ſettled in Italy, they introduced the art of fortification, and erected towers and beacons for the ſake of their navigation. Before the invention of trumpets to give warning from their towers to paſſing veſſels, the maritime watchmen were obliged to uſe the ſea-conch, which every ſtrand afforded."

After an account of the ſtructure of their towers which were uſed as well for meteorological purpoſes, as for aſtronomical obſervation, Mr. Clarke goes on to ſay:

" When theſe Amonian lighthouſes were ſituated upon eminences faſhioned very round, they were called *Tith*. TITHONUS, celebrated for his longevity, was in reality one of theſe ſtructures, a *pharos* ſacred to the ſun. THETIS, the ancient goddeſs of the ſea, was only a fire-tower near the ocean, called *Tith-Is;* and the dreadful ſlaughter of the CYCLOPES, by the arrows of Apollo, merely relates to the manner in which the beacons on the Cyclopean turrets in Sicily, facing due eaſt, were extinguiſhed by the rays of the riſing ſun.—Charon, the celebrated ferryman of the Styx, was a name of the like import and etymology with Chiron, the moſt remarkable temple, with the former appellation, ſtood oppoſite to Memphis, on the weſtern ſide of the Nile: near this ſpot perſons of conſequence were buried; and as the temple ſtood adjoining the catacombs, the region of which was called the Acheronian Plain, an offering was made at the Charon, or tower, when the body was landed."

" A tower called *Men-Tor*, was dedicated to Menes in the iſland of Crete, who being worſhipped under a particular hieroglyphic, they ſtyled *Minotaurus*, and this tower, like the other light-houſes or naval colleges, was the ſcene of cruelty and injuſtice. Some of the principal youth of Athens were annually ſacrificed in this building; in the ſame manner as the Carthaginians ſent their children to be maſſacred at Tyre. Scylla was another of theſe towers, and therefore dreaded by mariners: this temple was a *Petra*, and the dogs with which the Greeks ſurrounded it were prieſts. It is believed that human fleſh was eaten in theſe places; and accordingly Ulyſſes, when entering the dangerous paſs of Rhegium, had ſix of his companions ſeized by Scylla, and loſt the ſame number in the cavern of the Cyclops.

" Here

" Here then we diſcover one great and univerſal obſtacle to Navigation, during theſe early periods, from the cruelty of pagan rites, and the treachery of thoſe perſons who were ſtationed in difficult paſſes to warn Mariners of their danger."

From theſe topics the author proceeds to conſider what evidence there is for the exiſtence of Plato's iſland of Atlantis, and how it was ſituated; and he concludes it to have been nothing leſs than America. It is impoſſible to follow him through all the various diſquiſitions which are given in the ſeveral ſections of this introduction. It will be acknowledged by every reader, that he has gone to the ſources of information for facts, that he has conſulted the beſt authorities, and given the opinions of the moſt learned men with candour and judgment; and, with a proper ſpirit of independence, he has either added ſtrength to their theories, or has drawn concluſions of his own, different from thoſe who have gone before him. With the learned Dr. Vincent, he rejects that part of Herodotus's hiſtory which would give to the Phœnician Navigators, the honour of having circumnavigated Africa, ſix hundred years before Chriſt: and the reaſons which he has adduced in addition to thoſe brought forward in the Periplus of the Erythrean, ſeem fully ſufficient to juſtify the inference, that there is no evidence of a farther progreſs to the South, on the weſtern coaſt of Africa, than that of Hanno, nor on the Eaſtern, than that of the Periplus. In this and the third ſection, beſide a conſiderable diſplay of induſtry and learning, in the courſe of which there are many paſſages from the Old Teſtament referred to and explained, Mr. C. has given the reader a full abſtract of the voyage of Nearchus from Dr. Vincent's illuſtration. But the contents of the fourth ſection are perhaps ſtill more intereſting as coming ſomewhat nearer our own time. To theſe, however, we can merely refer the reader, at the ſame time aſſuring him that he will be amply repaid for the labour of careful peruſal.

We now come to the firſt book of Mr. Clarke's great work, which is divided into three chapters, of which the firſt contains " Illuſtrations of Commercial Hiſtory, preceding the Fifteenth Century," and " Portugueſe Hiſtory, during the ſame period;" with the particulars of the former we are more intereſted than with thoſe of the latter, and ſhall accordingly ſelect from them ſuch as will afford our readers an inſight into the plan of the volume. One of the firſt objects to which our attention is directed, is the ſiege and capture of Conſtantinople, a city which above all other places, was adapted

adapted by its ſituation, to preſerve or renew, during more than two centuries, the commercial intercourſe which ſubſiſted between Europe and Aſia, after the port of Alexandria had been ſhut to the Europeans by the Arabs, who had wreſted Egypt from the Greek empire, and had added Perſia to the empire of the Caliphs.

This city which has been deſcribed as having all Aſia in the front, and all Europe behind it, affords a memorable inſtance of the gradual decline of the firſt emporium in the world, through a neglect of cheriſhing and maintaining her naval power.

"Contented," ſays Mr. C. "with the immenſe riches ariſing from her Indian commerce, ſhe ſuffered the Italian States, particularly thoſe of Genoa, Venice, and Florence, to derive from the conveyance of this merchandiſe to the different ports in the Mediterranean, the ſource of a maritime force, ſo neceſſary to the ſecurity or continuance of the Greek empire. Accordingly, in the year 1204, Venice, confederated with the leaders of the fourth cruſade, aimed a ſevere blow at the Imperial crown, and placed the ſceptre in the hands of Baldwin earl of Flanders; 'every one,' as Anderſon obſerves, 'plucking a feather out of that declining Imperial eagle's wings.' The rival republic Genoa, when a ſpace of fifty-ſeven years had elapſed, wreſted the prize from the Venetians and their allies in 1261, notwithſtanding the excommunicating thunders of the Vatican; and placing Michael Palæologus on the throne, obtained the ſuburb of Pera at Conſtantinople. But the effects of that poiſon, which their own indolence had prepared, were only ſuſpended for a time; in the year 1453, the final overthrow of the venerable emporium of Indian commerce, was complete. Mohammed the Second, beſieged Conſtantinople, with an army of three hundred thouſand men, and eſtabliſhed the ſeat of the Turkiſh government in that city; by which means an intercourſe with the Eaſt, reverted entirely to Venice, through the port of Alexandria.—It is ſingular, that in this downfal of the great mart of Indian trade, and in the late overthrow of the tyrant of Myſore, who made ſuch powerful exertions to injure the more modern ſyſtem of European intercourſe with the Eaſt, circumſtances occur that have a ſtriking ſimilarity with each other: Conſtantinople, like Seringapatam, was taken by ſtorm after a moſt bloody reſiſtance; and the Greek emperor, who, like Tippoo Sultan, reſolved not to ſurvive his empire, was found under one of the gates, trampled to death by the multitude."

In our own country, it appears there was a diſpoſition for maritime enterprize in the reign of Alfred, but its efforts were weak, and expired with him. Under the Saxons, a law was made, by which if a merchant croſſed the wide ſea three times he was honoured with the title of Thane.

The fiſheries of Europe conſpired to entice the genius of navigation from its long night of ſlumber; and to cheriſh

that maritime character which they have ſince ſo much continued to ſupport. In theſe England and Scotland had their full ſhare; and the herring-fiſhery, which began in Holland, became a conſiderable ſource of wealth to the town of Yarmouth, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. About the ſame time, or rather earlier, the town of Hull carried on a conſiderable trade to the Baltic, and became a place of general reſort for the North Sea fiſhery: Briſtol is alſo deſcribed, two hundred years before this, as having a haven ſafe and commodious for all ſhips directing their courſe for the ſame from Ireland, Norway, and other outlandiſh countries; and in 1374 it obtained its charter from King Edward the third, *in conſideration*, ſays that monarch, *of the good ſervices done to us by their ſhipping.*

London itſelf is mentioned by Tacitus, who reſided there ſome time, as a place of commerce; and in 1379 its coal trade with Newcaſtle, which forms another valuable nurſery for ſeamen, began to be eſtabliſhed: and William of Malmſbury, near ſeventy years before this, bore an honourable teſtimony to the high character of Engliſh ſailors. "Engliſh ſhips," ſays he, "viſit every coaſt, and Engliſh ſailors excel all others, both in the arts of navigation and in fighting." But, according to our author, the greateſt ſingularity of the age is the naval parliament which Edward III. ſummoned in the year 1341, to which every ſea-port ſent a certain number of commiſſioners to the metropolis, who brought up an exact ſtate of the navy. According to an authentic document, the maritime power of England at that time conſiſted of 217 ſhips, and 4521 ſeamen. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, more than 1400 Engliſh merchant ſhips ſailed from London to the weſtern parts of Morocco, and even through the ſtraits of Gibraltar to Italy; and in 1481 two Engliſhmen undertook a trading voyage to thoſe parts of the coaſt of Africa which had then been lately re-diſcovered by the Portugueſe.

From the brief outline of what relates to England the reader will be able to judge of the entertainment he has to expect from the work itſelf; nor has the author been leſs circumſtantial in his account of the progreſs of the maritime power of Scotland, and of Spain; and of the general hiſtory of Portugal, preceding the fifteenth century. To our countrymen, to whom Portugueſe hiſtory is leſs familiar than almoſt any other, this part of the volume will afford much ſatisfaction; and to render it more perfect, Mr. C. has ſubjoined a conciſe account of their moſt diſtinguiſhed writers, including thoſe who have conſidered Portugueſe Aſia and America; referring the curious to the library at Buckingham Houſe, for the moſt valuable

able collection of Portugueſe hiſtorians to be found in this country, and which has been formed under the auſpices of his preſent Majeſty.

The ſecond chapter of this work is entitled "Portugueſe Voyages." The reader muſt not expect, under this title, a mere account of voyages with reſpect to the early diſcoveries of the Portugueſe; he will find much of the general hiſtory of that country from the year 1385 to the year 1486. Our notice of it muſt, however, be confined to thoſe facts which relate to the "Progreſs of Maritime Diſcovery."

The firſt voyage of diſcovery made by the Portugueſe was to the coaſt of Africa, in the year 1412; this was followed by others, till they gradually advanced beyond *Cape Nam*, which had hitherto been deemed the impaſſable limit of European navigation, and accordingly received its name from the negative term in Portugueſe. But the mariners were arreſted in their courſe by the ſight of a tremendous cape (Bojador), which, at the diſtance of ſixty leagues from the former, ſtretched boldly out towards the weſt, and formed the coaſt. It was about this period that John I. of Portugal, attacked and carried the fortreſs of Ceuta, which is thus described by our author:

"From the bay of Lagos the embarkation of the Portugueſe fleet was beheld with various emotions: it recalled to memory the trophies, and African exploits of Beliſarius. Thirty-three large ſhips of war, or carracks, fifty-nine gallies, and one hundred and twenty tranſports, oppoſed the valour of fifty thouſand mariners and ſoldiers to the uſurpation of the Moors. The ſpectacle was intereſting and ſolemn. Although the maritime hiſtorian, in the preſent day, conſiders this embarkation with delight, as the firſt advance towards a knowledge of the coaſt of Africa, the Portugueſe, who beheld their ſovereign, and the hopes of his illuſtrious houſe, expoſed at once to the perils of the ocean, muſt have dreaded the fatal malignity of the burning ſands, and feveriſh atmoſphere of that continent; they therefore viewed the ſading veſſels in the diſtant horizon with different ſenſations, and the ſhores of Lagos diſplayed a melancholy groupe, when the ſails of a beloved monarch were loſt in the ſurrounding haze.

"The loſty towers and walls of *Ceuta*, the ancient *Septem*, which had been in part conſtructed and fortified by Juſtinian, formed at that time the ſtrongeſt Mooriſh garriſon in Africa. The rebellious ſubjects both of Spain and Portugal had long reſorted thither in ſecurity, and defied the juſtice of their country. On the 14th of Auguſt (A. D. 1415), the promontory of Ceuta was ſeen by the headmoſt ſhips; and by the 21ſt, the troops were landed under the conduct of the princes Don Henry and Pedro. Every thing that the vigilance or precaution of the Mooriſh governor, Sala Benſala, could deviſe, had been long prepared: but neither the fortifications

of the town or caſtle were able to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy, Benſala retired under cover of the night; and the cruſaders at day-break proceeded to ſecure their conqueſt."

In the year 1418 they undertook another voyage of diſcovery; a tempeſt drove them far from land, but at the moment when they had abandoned themſelves to despair, they perceived that they were approaching an iſland. Gratitude to Providence for their eſcape, immediately ſuggeſted a name for the new diſcovery in *Puerto Santo*, or the Holy Haven, the ſmalleſt of the Madeiras; and from this time the Portugueſe abandoned the coaſting voyages of the ancients, for the bolder enterpriſe of an improved, and more intrepid age. From a brief, but very affecting account, we learn that Madeira had, nearly a century before this, been viſited by an Engliſhman, named ROBERT A MACHIN, who truſted himſelf and the lady of his choice, to the waves, for the ſake of avoiding the cruel tyranny of a parent.

In 1420 the Portugueſe viſited again Puerto Santo, and from thence proceeded to Madeira, a name given to it by the king on account of the various ſpecimens of excellent wood brought from it. *Gilianez*, a native of Lagos, returning A. D. 1433, from a vain attempt to double the invincible Bojador, was driven by ſtreſs of weather into one of the Canary iſlands,* from which he carried with him ſome of the natives. Meeting with a cold reception from his ſovereign, he again ſet ſail on another voyage to Bojador, and accompliſhed an event which, at that time, was looked upon as in no way inferior to the labours of Hercules.

Nuno Triſtan doubled Cabo Blanco in 1443, and discovered the cluſter of iſlands known by the general appellation of Arguin: and in 1446, Denis Fernandez fitted out a veſſel for the purpoſes of diſcovery, and with a view of advancing further ſouthward than any preceding navigator. He paſſed the river Senegal, and fell in with and captured a boat having four inhabitants on board: thence he ſtood boldly on until he reached the moſt weſterly promontory of Africa, which from the number of palm-trees that grew there, he named Cabo Verde. Alarmed at the breakers with which the ſhore is lined, Denis did not attempt at that ſeaſon of the year to advance any farther, but returned with his captives to Portugal. In the following ſpring the Portugueſe advanced firſt to Rio

* Theſe were firſt known to Europeans between the years 1326 and 1344, by means of a French ſhip driven among them by a ſtorm, prior to their re-diſcovery by John de Betancourt, in May 1400.

Grande,

Grande, and afterwards as far as Rio de Nuno. The diſcovery of the Azores may be dated from 1445 or 1449, though they were known ſo early as 1432.

We might here take notice of the voyages and diſcoveries made by Cada Moſta, the account of which, as given at length by Mr. Clarke, is highly inſtructive and intereſting; but we rather refer the reader to the whole, than increaſe our article with extracts. With the ſecond voyage of Cada Moſta, the diſcoveries of Henry Duke de Viſeo, appear to cloſe. By ſome, this illuſtrious prince is ſuppoſed to have ſettled the iſland of St. Thomas, and by others he is even thought to have paſſed the equinoctial, for it was the cuſtom of his ſailors to leave the motto of his arms, *Talent de bien faire*, wherever they went; and in 1525 a Spaniſh captain found that device carved on the bark of a tree in the iſle of St. Matthew, in the ſecond degree of ſouth latitude. Dr. Vincent, however, limits the diſcoveries of the Duke to the Cape Verde, but Mr. Clarke contends that he went as far as Rio Grande, or perhaps as far as Cape Verga, or to whatever is conſidered as the northern boundary of the Sierra Leone country.

In the ſecond ſection of this chapter are recorded the diſcoveries made by the Portugueſe, during the reigns of Alphonso the fifth, and John the ſecond. Under the former the whole coaſt from Cape Verga to Cape Catherine, the northern limit of the Congo, was explored. The iſland Fernando Poo was diſcovered by Fernando Lopez, in 1471, and it is probable Prince's iſle was alſo known about that time. The date of the diſcovery of St. Thomas's iſland fluctuates between 1452 and 1471, and Annobon iſland received its name on account of the diſcovery taking place on New Year's day, 1472. There being no certainty as to the date when St. Thomas's iſland was diſcovered, Mr. C. has introduced a curious and intereſting account of a voyage from Liſbon to that iſland, written by a Portugueſe pilot, which had never before been tranſlated into our language.

In the year 1479 a commercial treaty was ſigned on the fourth of September, between the kings of Caſtile and Portugal, by which the trade of Guinea, and the navigation of its coaſt, with the conqueſt of the kingdom of Fez, were guaranteed to the latter; and by the ſame treaty, the Canary iſles were aſſigned to Spain.

Between John the ſecond and Lorenzo de Medici there ſubſiſted an interchange of kind offices, by which means Mr. C. ſuppoſes the aſtronomical *Gnomon* was introduced to Portugal, as well as the *Geografia of Berlingheri*, publiſhed with maps, at Florence, during the year 1480.

It had been cuſtomary for the Portugueſe navigators to put up wooden croſſes to mark their reſpective diſcoveries: theſe were now altered to ſtone pillars, on which were inſcribed, in the Latin and Portugueſe languages, the names of the navigator, and of the reigning monarch. The firſt of theſe pillars was erected by Diego Cam, or Cano, who in 1484 paſſed Cape Catherine, and came to the mouth of the river Zayre, which led to the diſcovery of Congo.

In the year 1486, Bartholomew Diaz received the command of a ſquadron, conſiſting of two ſhips, and a tender to carry proviſions; and at the end of Auguſt he ſailed for the ſouthward. The firſt ſtone pillar which he erected was on the coaſt of Africa, at Sierra Parda, in about 24½° ſouth latitude. He then ſtretched boldly out to ſea, and never touched upon the coaſt again till he was forty leagues eaſt of the Cape, which he had paſſed without ſeeing. The ſquadron ſailed in ſight of a bay, which they called *de los Vaqueros*, or *Herdſmen*, from the number of cows that were ſeen grazing, and proceeding onwards, they touched at a ſmall iſland, or rock, which they named *Santa Cruz*, from the ſecond ſtone pillar and croſs that was erected to mark their progreſs.

At this iſland in the bay of *Algoa*, the crew became impatient to return, ſince their proviſions were nearly exhauſted, and the tender was miſſing. Diaz perſuaded them to ſtand on twenty-five leagues farther, ſtill unconſcious of having paſſed the Cape, and feeling mortified left he ſhould return without ſucceſs to his ſovereign. They proceeded to *Rio del Infante*; but what was their aſtoniſhment and joy, when, on their paſſage back, the long-fought promontory opened to their view!—Here a third pillar was placed, and dedicated to St. Philip; and to complete their ſatisfaction, they ſoon fell in with the victualler: three only of the nine who had been left in her a few months before were alive; their companions had been murdered by the blacks; and of the ſurvivors, Fernand Colazzo expired for joy on again beholding his countrymen.

We have now ſeen with what cautious ſteps the Portugueſe traverſed the weſtern coaſt of Africa; how many voyages were made before they dared double the Cape of Good Hope.—Every attempt to inveſtigate that coaſt has been ſufficient to immortalize the navigator who hazarded the enterprize. The next ſtep in the progreſs of maritime diſcovery was a route to India by ſea. The intercourſe between Europe and the Eaſt had hitherto been carried on by land. Columbus had no doubt that he ſhould readily arrive at India, and make himſelf maſter of its wealth, by ſteering due weſt acroſs the Atlantic. In executing his project a new world unfolded itſelf to his view, while

while Da Gama, in behalf of the Portugueſe, ſought and diſcovered a paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. The hiſtory of this diſcovery is recorded in Mr. Clarke's third chapter. Before, however, he enters upon this, which is immediately connected with his main object, he gives us a retroſpect of Indian hiſtory, from the Macedonian diſcoveries to the cloſe of the fifteenth century.

Vaſco da Gama was appointed to the high command by Emanuel, and when he received the important charge, he aſſured his ſovereign that his mind had long aſpired to the honour of ſuch an enterprize: to enthuſiaſm he united perſeverance, prudence, and a conſtant ſelf-poſſeſſion; and to impreſs the reader with a ſtill deeper ſenſe of the character of this celebrated navigator, our author quotes the authority of Dr. Vincento, who ſays,

"He was formed for the ſervice to which he was called; violent indeed in his temper, terrible in anger, and ſudden in the execution of juſtice; but at the ſame time intrepid, perſevering, patient in difficulties, fertile in expedients, and ſuperior to all oppoſition. He ſeems to have devoted himſelf to death if he ſhould not ſucceed, from a ſenſe of religion and loyalty. His ſucceſs was owing to this ſentiment."

The ſquadron, to the command of which Gama was appointed, conſiſted of three ſhips and a caravella, the largeſt of about two hundred tons, and the caravella of fifty tons. He received his commiſſion in the preſence of all the principal nobility, from his ſovereign, who after an eloquent ſpeech gave him with his own hand, as the flag he was to bear, a ſacred banner, on which was emblazoned the croſs of the military order of Chriſt, and on this ſtandard the admiral took his oath of fidelity. Da Gama was fully impreſſed with the high importance of the truſt repoſed in him. His courage, which was ſuperior to all obſtacles, never degenerated into preſumption. The parting ſcene between him and his countrymen is drawn up by Mr. Clarke with great intereſt; we ſhall preſent it to the reader in his own words:

"The conduct of Gama previous to his voyage, clearly evinces the opinion which that great navigator entertained of its dangers, and his determination to ſurmount them with the permiſſion and ſupport of Divine Providence. His mind was highly wrought; the natural piety of the mariner was increaſed by the ſituation in which he was about to be placed; he was *to ſee the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep;* to traverſe an ocean hitherto conſidered as impaſſable. Ignorance might magnify its terrors, but even experience trembled when ſent to encounter dangers which the received and general opinion of that age had declared to be inſurmountable. But Gama poſſeſſed a firm reliance on his God; and therefore con-

ducted the companions of this perilous voyage to the chapel of *nossa Senhora de Belem*, or Bethlehem, which PRINCE HENRY had built on the sea-shore, about four miles from Lisbon: the anxious hours of the night were spent in prayer, and in the performance of devout rites. In the morning of Saturday, July the 8th 1497, the awful procession of the sacred ministers of religion, preceded one of the most solemn and affecting scenes which history can display. The king, attended by his court, was present to honour the embarkation. Gama and his brave mariners appeared: their resolution could not stand the general dejection, and their tears increased the distress of all who beheld them; they then hastened to perform their duty, and followed their commander. Thousands remained immoveable on the shore until the most distant trace of the receding fleet had disappeared."

The account of this voyage our author has given sometimes in his own language, but more generally in that of Castenheda, Osorius, and Camoens. The narrative of the former, which perhaps is little more than a copy of the journal, is rendered interesting by the poetical descriptions of the naval scenery which Camoens witnessed in a voyage to the East Indies in 1553.

In perusing this part of the work, the expectations of the reader will undoubtedly be gratified: as one other instance of Mr. Clarke's powers of description we shall transcribe his account of the situation of Da Gama at the Cape:

"In this part of his voyage the greatest proofs of his resolution were called forth. The waves rose like mountains in height; his ships seemed now heaved up to the clouds, and now appeared as precipitated by circling whirlpools to the bed of the ocean. The winds were piercing cold, and so boisterous that the pilot's voice could seldom be heard; whilst a dismal, and almost continual darkness, which at that tempestuous season involves these seas, added greatly to the danger. Sometimes the gale drove them to the southward, at other times they were obliged to stand on the tack and yield to its fury, preserving what they had gained with the greatest difficulty. During any gloomy interval of the storm, the sailors, wearied out with fatigue, and abandoned to despair, surrounded Gama, *begging he would not devote himself and his crew to so dreadful a death.* They exclaimed, *that the gale could no longer be weathered; that every one must be buried in the waves if they continued to proceed.* The firmness of the Admiral could not be shaken; and a formidable conspiracy was immediately formed against him: but of this desperate proceeding he was informed by his brother Paulo. The conspirators and all the pilots were immediately put in irons; whilst Gama, assisted by his brother, and the few who remained stedfast in their duty, *stood night and day to the helm.* Providence rewarded his heroism, and at length on Wednesday the 20th of November, all the squadron doubled this tremendous promontory."

On the 20th of May following they arrived at Calicut, on the coaſt of Malabar. This was unqueſtionably the firſt voyage by ſea from Europe to the Eaſt Indies, and with this our author cloſes the main part of his volume. It is a duty which we owe to him, as well as to the public, to ſay that the brief ſketch which we have been able to give, comprehends a very ſmall portion of the generally intereſting parts of the volume. Our limits have not allowed us to enter into the hiſtorical details, which are very valuable; nor have we been able to give any account of a variety of voyages, deſcriptions of which are inſerted in ſeveral parts of the work. Mr. Clarke has not been inattentive to the diſcoveries made by the Portugueſe in the inland parts of Africa; references to theſe are made by the pen of a maſter; but it would have taken us out of our way to have given the reader an inſight into them. For the ſame reaſon we have omitted a multitude of intereſting traits of the perſons, the manners, the cuſtoms, and the commercial projects of the native Africans. Among others of this kind we might refer to Cada Moſto's narrative, whoſe account of the ſalt trade will be read with intereſt by every perſon. The ſame may be ſaid with regard to the narrative given by the Portugueſe pilot of a voyage from Liſbon to the iſland of *San Thomè*, and of the ſugar trade carried on in that iſland. But there would be no end in attempting to enumerate every object of importance which occurs in this volume.

The only fault that can be found with it is that the author ſeems to have aimed at including too much, by which he has put it out of the power of many perſons who are intereſted in the ſubject from becoming purchaſers. But the man of ſcience and leiſure will cheerfully follow wherever Mr. C. leads him. He will, for the moſt part, with increaſing pleaſure join in inveſtigating thoſe curious ſubjects which ſeem to lay out of the road of the reviewer, becauſe he cannot enter minutely into a few topics, and fairly give the arguments on all ſides, without depriving himſelf of the opportunity of laying before the public a general ſurvey of the whole.

The magnitude of ſuch an undertaking might have deterred a literary man from engaging in it, without any imputation upon his talents and induſtry. Mr. Clarke appears to us fully adequate to the taſk; he has followed the advice of Horace, and undoubtedly conſidered the "*Quid valeant humeri*," and we ſincerely hope that the public will reward his exertions with a liberal patronage.

The appendix to this firſt volume conſiſts 1, Of a tranſlation of Galvano's Memoir on the progreſs of Maritime Diſcovery. 2, Of Mr. Locke's Memoir on the Hiſtory of Navigation, and his

his explanatory catalogue of Voyages, and ſcarce Geographical works. 3, Of Dr. Robertſon's Obſervations on the Diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope. 4, Of Voyages of two Mohammedans in the Indian ocean, during the ninth century, tranſlated from the Arabic MSS. by the Abbè Renaudot. And 6, Of Correſpondence on ſubjects of practical utility.

Several excellent maps of the coaſt of Africa, by Arrowſmith, and ſome beautiful engravings, accompany this volume.

ART. VIII. *The Hiſtory of the Invaſion of Switzerland by the French, and the Deſtruction of the Democratical Republics of Schwitz, Uric, and Unterwalden. By Henry Zſchokke, National Prefect of the Canton of Baſil; tranſlated from the French of J. B. Briatte, Secretary of Legation to the Helvetic Republic at Paris. With a preface, and ſupplement by the tranſlator.* 8vo. 7s. in bds. pp. 372. Longman and Rees. 1803.

THE name of Switzerland awakens in the minds of Britons a variety of ſtrong emotions. The ſublime ſcenery of that romantic country, and the ſimple manners of its inhabitants, have been the favourite theme of our travellers, of our poets, and even of our novelliſts: and the exertions of its ancient heroes in defence of their freedom, have been long pointed out to our ingenuous youth as a ſubject of applauſe, and an object of emulation. Switzerland has for a lengthened period been regarded as the refuge of the perſecuted, as a place of tranquil and dignified retirement to thoſe whoſe moderate fortunes could not enable them to occupy their proper ſtation in countries infected with the ever-growing evils of luxury and diſſipation. All who prided themſelves upon the cultivation of their minds, were accuſtomed to revere the native land of Rouſſeau, Necker, and Geſner, and the adopted country of Gibbon and Voltaire, as the parent and protector of genius and learning. To adopt the eloquent phraſeology of Mackintoſh, we were wont to regard Switzerland as "that innocent country which had been the ſanctuary of peace and liberty for three centuries; reſpected as a ſort of ſacred territory by the fierceſt ambition; raiſed, like its own mountains, beyond the region of the ſtorms which raged around on every ſide; and containing the only warlike people that never ſent forth armies to diſturb their neighbours."*

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* Mackintoſh's defence of Peltier.

In

In this publication of Mr. Zſchokke, which was originally written in the German language, and has been lately tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr. Aikin, through the medium of a French verſion, are detailed the cauſes and circumſtances of thoſe ſad reverſes of fortune which terminated in the abolition of Swiſs independence, and in the ſubmiſſion of thoſe generous mountaineers to the impoſition of a foreign yoke.

The cauſe of the ſubjugation of Switzerland may be ultimately traced to the imperfection of its federal conſtitution, and to the obſtinacy with which the ariſtocratical cantons perſiſted, notwithſtanding the ſigns of the times, in denying the participation of political rights to a large maſs of their population. So much was every individual ſtate of the Helvetic confederacy independent of the general body, that in many moſt important reſpects their union was merely nominal. There was no ſuperintending power which could compel them to cooperate againſt their common foe. Hence while each canton was engaged in providing the means of its individual defence, the French army took them in detail, and moſt of them fell an eaſy prey. Inteſtine diviſions alſo weakened the force of the majority of the members of the Helvetic body. The gigantic progreſs of the French revolution encouraged thoſe portions of the people of Switzerland who had for centuries been treated as vaſſals and ſubjects, to claim the rights of citizens. The refuſal of their ſovereigns to comply with their requiſitions, impelled them to the direful reſolution of calling in the aid of republican France. The French directory received with joy a ſummons which had in fact been provoked and haſtened by their intrigues. The Gallic army marched into the territory of Switzerland. Diſtracted in their counſels, and at once aſſailed by foreign war and domeſtic rebellion, the governors of the ariſtocratical cantons were ſoon compelled to ſubmit to the law of the ſtrongeſt. The democratical ſtates of Schwitz, Uri, and Unterwalden, being each ſtrengthened by domeſtic union, and by their winding defiles and rocky mountains, made a fierce and obſtinate reſiſtance, but were at length overpowered by numbers, and in the gloominess of deſpair ſubſcribed to the terms dictated by the conqueror. The Gallic invaders being thus maſters of Switzerland, proceeded to impoſe upon its miſerable inhabitants the fetters of ſlavery, under the name of a conſtitution. Regardleſs of ancient prejudices, they made diviſions and ſubdiviſions of the territory, according to the judgment of their ſurveyors and engineers; and conſtituting departments, and preſcribing forms of election, they moulded a political body after the model of the exiſting conſtitution of France. In proceſs of time this order of things

not

not being, upon examination of its merits, satisfactory to Bonaparte, that ruler of the destiny of nations has been pleased to command a kind of counter-revolution, whereby the Helvetic states have in some measure reverted to their ancient forms of government. But whatever may be the organization of the 13 Cantons, their liberty is lost—their independence is no more. The influence of France is predominant, The rulers of that insolent nation regard the mountains of Switzerland as a military post, whence their legions may, upon occasion, rush like a torrent into Germany or Italy; and whensoever it suits their convenience they will make those mountains, once inaccessible to foreign troops, the head-quarters of their armies.

Such are the lessons which may be learnt from the history of the invasion of Switzerland,—lessons which ought to teach the rulers of nations that in the day of peril the affections of their subjects are their most effectual security; and which ought also to convince the disaffected of every country that the interference of Gallic aid will most assuredly bow their necks to the heaviest and most galling yoke. We are of opinion, therefore, that the translator of this volume has done his country good service by introducing it to the notice of the British public: nor at the same time has he been unmindful of the cause of literature. The sketch of the history of Switzerland, which is contained in the work of Mr. Zschokke, is elegant and perspicuous; and his narrative of the heroic deeds of Aloys Reding and his little band of patriots, both in its matter and manner, reminds us of the best models of classic history.

As we have given a view of the general result of this work, we do not think it necessary to analyze its contents; but as a specimen of its spirit we shall present our readers with two extracts from it. In the first of these is described an action fought on the very heights of Morgarten, where Swiss independence had been asserted against the Austrians, A. D. 1315.

"Meantime an inhabitant of Einsiedlen arrived at the field of battle out of breath, and covered with dust, who informed colonel Reding that the French were passing Mount Ezel. He related that the rector Marianus came to that post at eight in the morning, and said to the people who guarded it, 'My dear children, I am of opinion that you will do best to retire to your own homes, and lay down your arms: it would be useless to stay and defend yourselves here, for at the other posts they do not think of making the least resistance.'

"The messenger added, that after this perfidious speech the traitor returned to Einsiedlen, and that the troop instantly dispersed. Schwitz and Einsiedlen were thus laid open to the French. The troops posted at Schindellegi, in order not to be cut off, and to preserve

ſerve a communication with Einſiedlen and St. Joſt, were obliged to fall back. Their retreat was conducted in good order; the chaſſeurs and grenadiers made the rear-guard, and covered the march of the main body. At three o'clock in the afternoon they reached Rothenthurm, and were there joined by many ſoldiers of the farms, who came to rally under them. The action that day at Schindellegi coſt the Swiſs 25 killed, and 50 wounded. Among the latter was the brave Captain Schilter, who died in conſequence of his wounds. Shawenburg profited of theſe advantages, and cauſed Mount Ezel to be paſſed by General Nouvion, at the head of 6000 men, with cannon and cavalry.

" Captain Hediger, who defended the poſt of the mountain of St. Joſt, was alſo attacked by a ſuperior force. French troops advancing to the number of two or three thouſand, from Aegeri and Hutten, haraſſed him ſeverely.

" Thinking himſelf unable to maintain his poſition, he fell back to the village of Rothenthurm. The whole mountain of St. Joſt, and the chain of heights which ſeparate it from the plain of Morgarten, were then entirely in the power of the French. Reding ordered Captain Hediger, with his battalion to attack the heights in the vicinity of Morgarten, while he himſelf, with 1200 men, remained in a ſtate of obſervation at the village of Rothenthurm. In the mean time the French deſcended ſlowly from the mountain in a formidable number, and formed near the village, preſenting a very extended front.

" The Swiſs gave them ſome cannon-ſhot. Aloys Reding then drew up his force in order of battle, marched to the enemy, cauſed his men to make a ſingle general diſcharge in the plains, and then gave the ſignal, which they impatiently expected, of charging with the bayonet. At the firſt roll of the drum they ſprung forwards with unexampled intrepidity and fury. Two weak battalions diſregarded the advantageous poſition of the enemy, and their extreme ſuperiority in numbers: the deſire of coming to blows with the conquerors of Europe was ſuch, that, notwithſtanding a briſk and well-ſupported fire of muſquetry, they paſſed in cloſe ranks and good order a plain of eight hundred paces in length, without being in the leaſt checked by all the efforts of the French.

" The charging ſtep ſoon became a run, a general ruſh: officers and ſoldiers contended for the honour of being the firſt to waſh away, in the blood of the enemy, the affront offered to the ſoil of Liberty. This impetuous attack aſtoniſhed the French, who for a moment were undetermined whether to fly or ſtand: but when the Swiſs, preſerving through the whole line their regularity and ardour, were near enough to employ their weapons, the affair was ſoon decided. They plunged their bayonets into the enemy's ranks, and made a horrible carnage; and in leſs than a quarter of an hour ſo completely diſperſed them, that ſcarcely could they diſcharge a few ſhot in their flight. Within half an hour the Swiſs were in poſſeſſion of heights of ſo ſteep an aſcent, that on other occaſions more time would

would have been required to climb them than was now ſpent in taking them.

" In the midſt of the chain of mountains which border the cantons of Zug and Schwitz, and between the lake of Aegeri and Mount Sattel, is a pleaſant and fertile plain, which, like a fine verdant carpet, admirably contraſts with the nakedneſs of the rocks on which it is, as it were, ſuſpended: this is the plain of Morgarten.

" The French columns coming from Aegeri climbed the rocks, and were advancing towards it. This plain, ſince the retreat from Schindellegi, had remained without defence. It was extremely important to take poſſeſſion of it, and prevent the enemy from making a lodgement there.

" The troops of Schwitz had fortunately on that very day received a reinforcement, not very conſiderable indeed, but to them highly valuable. Three hundred freſh troops arrived from Uri, under the command of Schmid, landeſchauptman of the canton. Inſtantly, fifty chaſſeurs of this body detached themſelves from the reſt, and marched in haſte to Morgarten. A hundred and fifty of their countrymen, and part of the general levy of Steinen, followed them with equal ſpeed. A battalion, ſent by Reding, proceeded thither at the ſame time, by the village of Rothenthurm. But during this interval the French had arrived at the ſummit of the mountain which commands Morgarten, and were re-deſcending it, marching towards that part of the plain which touches on Mount Satell. As ſoon as they perceived the fifty chaſſeurs, they made a continued fire upon them; which theſe ſmartly returned, and were able to retard the march of the enemy, till the battalion coming from Rothenthurm had climbed the eminence which ſeparates it from the plain, and taken them in flank.

" The fire then becoming more briſk, echoed on all ſides.

" The hundred and fifty men of Uri, and thoſe of Schwitz, finding the action begun, redoubled their ſpeed to ſhare in the glory and danger of their brethren.

" As ſoon as all had joined, they no longer thought of amuſing themſelves with ſhooting: the general charge was beat, and as quick as lightning the Swiſs ruſhed among the French ranks, and were again ſucceſsful in putting them to the rout. The two battalions of Rothenthurm attacked alſo on their ſide, and chaſed the enemy as far as the oppoſite heights.

" Twice they attempted to rally, and twice the children of William Tell obliged them to retire in diſorder; and preſently the plain of Morgarten, the memorable theatre of Swiſs valour, was entirely cleared. The enemy, whoſe plan had been to make an attack on two different points, totally failed in their double enterpriſe. The French, purſued to the bottom of the village of Aegeri, in the canton of Zug, attempted to rally a third time, but in vain. They would have been driven much further, had not the purſuers apprehended being intercepted if they advanced too far, as Mount Ezel was not covered. The Swiſs, therefore, ſatisfied with having chaſed the foe from the plain of Morgarten and the mountain of St. Joſt, repoſed

repoſed at the approach of night from the glorious toils of the day."

The following paſſage contains a moſt affecting account of the deliberation of the general aſſembly of the inhabitants of Schwitz on the capitulation which, when they were reduced to the laſt extremity, was propoſed to them by the French commander Schawenburg.

"The ſpectacle afforded by this aſſembly was ſolemn and awful. All the people were armed as they came from the field of battle; ſome with muſquets, ſome with carabines, many with ſtakes, clubs, and halberds. Every face wore the impreſſion of the grief and conſternation which reigned in every heart. After a ſhort harangue, ſuited to the circumſtances, pronounced by the antient landamman Schueller, who was preſident for the time, the prayer uſual on ſuch an occaſion was recited, and all the people fervently implored the Divine Being to be gracious to them, and to enlighten them as to their conduct. What a ſpectacle, that of a body of citizen-ſoldiers raiſing their hearts to the Deity, and addreſſing to him their vows for the ſafety of their country!

"The capitulation was then read. Captain Bueler added, that general Schawenburgh had given him a verbal aſſurance that no requiſitions of men or money ſhould be made in the canton of Schwitz. Aloys Reding then ſpoke. He gave an account of the recent events; of the poſition of the French and the Swiſs; of the retreat of the troops of Uri, and of four hundred men of Unterwalden, who having arrived that morning at Brunnen, to act as auxiliaries to the canton of Schwitz, had marched back the inſtant they learned that a capitulation was in treaty. He concluded his diſcourſe with adviſing to adopt the capitulation. When he had finiſhed ſpeaking, a letter was preſented to the aſſembly, addreſſed to it by the dean Tanner, one of its moſt venerable paſtors. This reſpectable old man expreſſed himſelf in the following terms:

"Dear and faithful Fellow-Citizens.

"In the painful and dangerous circumſtances attending our beloved Country, I have thought myſelf obliged in conſcience to addreſs you by letter, ſince my age and infirmities have rendered me unable to come and ſpeak to you in perſon. Liſten then to the words of a poor prieſt, who has indeed little merit, but who, during the fifty-two years complete of his officiating among you, has always done all that lay in his power for religion and his country. My dear brethren, hear, in the name of God, the voice of reaſon, and learn to endure what you cannot avoid. Would you then, now that we are forſaken by all our allies, by prolonging a diſaſtrous reſiſtance, ſacrifice with yourſelves, your wives, your children, and conſequently your country? Ah! My dear brethren! when a choice is to be made between two inevitable evils, let us prefer the leaſt. If ſecurity is given you for your religion, your perſons, and your properties, conclude ſpeedily. Hope and truſt in your God.

Be

Be united, and endeavour ſoon to procure to yourſelves peace and tranquillity. ANTHONY TANNRR, Dean and Rector."

Muttathal, 4th May 1798.

" Hitherto the people had been ſufficiently calm; but when it was neceſſary to come to a final deciſion, a murmur aroſe on all ſides, which ſoon became a general tumult. Opinions appeared more at variance than ever. It was the laſt combat between inclination and neceſſity, the laſt convulſions of expiring democracy. Compariſons were made between what had been done by their anceſtors in the cauſe of liberty, and what remained for them to do; eſtimates were formed of the loſs to be undergone by the ſacrifice of a conſtitution ſanctioned by ages of peace and happineſs: the new one, of which the advantages could not be known, was oppoſed to it: in fine, a parallel was drawn between the paſt and the future, the certain and the uncertain. Some beheld in the new order of things the deſtruction of all religion: others recollected the oath they had taken to die rather than ſubmit to it; and the greater part ſaid that the promiſes of the French, were not to be relied on.

" The claſhing of theſe different opinions augmented the heat of diſcuſſion. The declarations for and againſt, became extremely noiſy; and it was in vain that the moſt moderate attempted to reſtore tranquillity. Many retired from the aſſembly in order to give a free vent to their grief. This confuſion, or rather ſtorm, had already laſted more than an hour. Menaces were heard; drawn ſabres and charged muſkets were prepared to ſhed the blood of an aſſembly of brothers.

" The people ſurrounded with foreign enemies, ſeemed to ſpare them the trouble of their deſtruction, and determined to be their own executioners. At length the canon Schueller, a man eſteemed by the people on account of his virtuous and irreproachable conduct, aſcended the tribune. Every one immediately uncovered, according to the cuſtom of the country, when an eccleſiaſtic ſpeaks in the aſſembly. By inſenſible degrees ſilence was reſtored, and Schueller took advantage of it to utter with dignity, but with a broken and ſorrowful voice, the following ſentences: " My dear fellow-citizens! If ever fraternal concord and ſober recollection were neceſſary, they are certainly ſo at the preſent moment. The queſtion now to be diſcuſſed is not which of two conſtitutions is the beſt, but whether we are to chooſe peace or war? You know your ſituation; you know that courage and bravery can no longer do any thing towards ſaving our conſtitution: we want hands, and conſequently a longer defence is become impoſſible. Theſe were the reaſons which yeſterday induced you of your own accord to ſpeak of a capitulation. The general in chief of the French army gives you one which is honourable to yourſelves, and ſecures you religion and property. You ſay that you have ſworn to die rather than accept the conſtitution! Far be it from me to exhort you to perjury! But when you took this oath, you were of opinion that your religion

religion would be endangered by it: if then the capitulation makes you ſecure on this head, the motive of your oath no longer exiſting, the oath itſelf ought to be regarded as null and unbinding. You may then accept the conſtitution without remorſe of conſcience.

You further aſſert that no faith ought to be given to the promiſes of the French. Are you conſiſtent in holding this language? Do you not at this very moment give them the greateſt proof of confidence, ſince upon the faith of their word of honour you are aſſembled here to deliberate on the fate of your country, whilſt your frontiers on all ſides are defenceleſs, and your cannon and ammunition under the feeble guard of a few men, might be taken from you in an inſtant if the French were deſirous of doing ſo? If you grant them ſo much confidence at a time when they are ſtill your enemies, and are at your gates, why ſhould you withhold it from them when they ſhall be at a diſtance, and become your friends?

"We have but a few hours of ſuſpenſion of arms remaining, let us not employ them in idle quarrels and uſeleſs diſcuſſion. Let us be wiſe and moderate. If you prefer war, loſe no time, fly to your poſts and defend your country: but if on the contrary, you wiſh to put a ſtop to the effuſion of blood; if you mean to conſent to a capitulation which protects your religion, perſons, and properties, do not delay to make known this intention to the French general, that hoſtilities may continue ſuſpended, and that fathers may be reſtored to their children, children to their fathers, and huſbands to their deſpairing wives. May God Almighty illuminate you, and ſend his bleſſing on your reſolutions! Whilſt Schueller was ſpeaking, he was thrice interrupted by the murmurs of the people, and thrice deſired to go on with his diſcourſe. At length the ſtorm ſubſided, and ſilence was reſtored. His propoſals were liſtened to with attention: the vote was put upon the eſſential object, and the capitulation was adopted by a very great majority. About a hundred men only oppoſed the meaſure. They then proceeded to the nomination of four deputies to be ſent on the next day to general Schawenburgh. A committee was appointed to regulate the other intereſts."

The Tranſlator has affixed to the work of Mr. Zſchokke, a ſupplement, in which he has given a ſketch of the events which have taken place in Switzerland, to the 27th of March 1803. The tranſlation is remarkably well executed. We have, however, obſerved one or two inſtances in which the purity of our language is debaſed by the admiſſion of Gallic words, ſuch as *inquietude* and *indeſtinctible*; and we muſt confeſs our utter aſtoniſhment to find, in any work of the able tranſlator of this volume, the awkward adverb *difficultly*.

ART. IX. *The Political and Confidential Correſpondence of Lewis the Sixteenth, with Obſervations on each Letter. By Helen Maria Williams.* 3 Vols. 8vo. pp. 975. Robinſon; 1803. price 1*l.* 1*s.*

THE title page of this intereſting work, preſents a taliſman of faſcination to the public. To the Correſpondence of Lewis the Sixteenth, who can remain indifferent or incurious? Of the many who open theſe letters with eager expectation, thoſe only will fail to derive gratification who have not received conviction of their authenticity. It is to be regretted, that no poſitive documents have given to this publication a legitimate ſtamp of authority, ſuch as might have ſilenced the cavils of ſcepticiſm, and repelled the ſuggeſtions of ſuſpicion. In the preface, it is ſtated by the tranſlatreſs, that the preſent volumes form but a part of the late king's correſpondence; that they were ſelected by ſome of his faithful friends, and deſtined for the preſs as a ſolemn act of juſtice to the unfortunate Monarch's memory. We are informed, that the object of the French editors in their intended publication, was to ſcatter a few flowers over the tomb of a Prince, the friend of mankind, whoſe *Apotheoſis* would be one day made by future generations! The materials for this monument, to the glory of Lewis the Sixteenth had been ſometime prepared. The cauſes of delay in the French editor Miſs Williams leaves us to gueſs; nor does ſhe think proper to explain the means by which the manuſcript volumes fell into her hands, though ſurely few things could be leſs in the ordinary ſucceſſion of events, than that Miſs Williams, the avowed advocate of the revolution, ſhould have been the agent ſelected by the *adoring friends* of Lewis the Sixteenth, for the publication of a correſpondence which was to entitle their lamented prince to the honours of an Apotheoſis from poſterity. Whether our fair countrywoman imagines that curioſity ſleeps entranced by ſome potent ſpell, or whether, as is perhaps more probable, the Cerberian vigilance of the French police ſleeps no more; certain it is, that ſhe has enveloped her character of editor in a Capuchinal garb of myſtery, that invites obſervation, and provokes conjecture. Miſs Williams is however at ſome pains to remove the prejudices which might exiſt againſt the authenticity of her literary protegee. She quotes the French editor, who had ſtated that the originals were depoſited in the hands of a perſonage, who would think it a pleaſure and a duty to communicate them to ſuch as were curious or incredulous. This ſtatement ſhe avers is true——

" But, independently (ſhe adds) of this external proof, which is concluſive to thoſe who are acquainted with the hand-writing of the late king, ſuch meaſures have been taken as appeared to me fully ſatisfactory to arrive at the greateſt ſupplementary proof, by conſulting ſuch perſons as were moſt likely to be informed on the ſubject. The proofs which I have obtained from men who now fill high offices under the republic, and from others who exerciſed the higheſt functions under Lewis the Sixteenth, leave no doubt whatever with reſpect to the authenticity of thoſe papers, that they are the genuine production of Lewis the Sixteenth."

We have then no evidence that does not reſt on her own perſonal teſtimony; but in addition to this preſumptive proof, which as it wholly depends on the judgment of one individual, can ſcarcely be deemed concluſive, we have a certain internal mark of truth, an impreſſion of reality, an individuality of ſtyle and ſentiment, and an occaſional epanchement of the heart, which inſenſibly baniſh diſtruſt and inſpire confidence. Some of the early letters in the firſt volume are of ſo remote a date as 1774, the golden days of Lewis the Sixteenth, when he participated in the enthuſiaſm of the count de St. Germain, his miniſter in the war department; approved the patriotic reforms of Turgot, who aſpired to the glory of regenerating France, and invoked to his adminiſtration the beneficent ſpirit of Maleſherbes, who preſided at the ſame bureau from whence the Lettres de Cachets had been ſo often iſſued, but preſided as an angel of mercy. To this amiable miniſter, Lewis appears to have been ſincerely attached; and while he ſtigmatized the intrepid zeal of Turgot, in the grand work of national reformation, as pertinacious and auſtere; while he yielded apparently with little reluctance to the clamours of the court, and the ſolicitations of his favourite Maurépas, againſt the common cenſor; inflexible in the proſecution of that plan which he conceived to be eſſential to the public good, he lamented the conſequent reſignation of Maleſherbes, and even complains of the unkindneſs of the deſertion:

" Your obſtinacy, my dear Maleſherbes, affects me ſingularly. Sully did not forſake Henry the Fourth when that prince ſtood in need of his talents; you are, permit me to tell you, ſomewhat an egotiſt in your virtue. Since, however, you are determined to withdraw yourſelf, I conſent.—Go then, and travel, ſince you wiſh to ſee other countries than that which regrets you, and which you could have rendered happy. At your return, come and ſee me as formerly, and let us reſume the ſame intimacy in our intercourſe. My countenance will be no more changed than my heart; and, as our reciprocal ſentiments are only thoſe of mutual eſteem, we ſhall not ſtand in need of reconciliation."

In the obſervations ſubjoined to this and a former letter on

the ſubject of Turgot's diſmiſſion, Miſs Williams animadverts with ſomewhat of unſeaſonable ſeverity on the facility with which the king was perſuaded to part from his reforming miniſter. With all our veneration for the talents and virtues of Turgot, we cannot but diſcover that his manners had in them an unconciliatory harſhneſs, which muſt have been offenſive to a young ſovereign ſurrounded by flatterers, and unuſed to ſincerity. When we conſider that Turgot was accuſtomed to repreſent to his maſter, that France was without a conſtitution; when we find him alarming every old Gallican prejudice by an avowed predilection for the Engliſh ſyſtem, and promulgating doctrines no leſs invidious to the courtiers than ungracious to their prince, we conſtantly wonder that Lewis did not reſiſt the powerful confederacy of the privileged orders againſt a miniſter who had only his eſteem. In the ſubſequent diſmiſſal of the count de St. Germain he appears to have made a painful ſacrifice of his feelings to the habitual aſcendance of his Mentor, Maurépas, and to the principle which that miniſter had impreſſed on his mind, as a duty of ſubmitting to the deciſions of a majority of his council: "Je dois quoique roi faire ceder mon opinion à celle de la majorité, et jai ſigné; I am obliged, although a king, to yield my own opinion to that of the majority, and I have ſigned." In the letter to M. de Forbonois the king diſplays an accurate knowledge of national ſubjects, and a well-founded diſtruſt of the financial ſchemes which had impoſed on his miniſters and the public; he deprecates the ruinous expedients of loans, taxes, and bankruptcy; he contraſts with theſe baſeleſs ſpeculations, the ſame policy and ſalutary reſources of Sully: "I am no longer ſurprized (adds he) that my anceſtor, the great Henry, obtained from the ſervices of this excellent miniſter the affections of the French: Henry was adored, and yet I dare affirm that he did not love his people with a more tender attachment then that which I bear towards my ſubjects. M. de Forbonois ſhall be to me what Sully was in the age of Henry!" The ſtate of France was at this time too deſperate to be reſtored by any remedy within the known political arcana. The ever-celebrated year 1789 arrived, when the revolution was deſtined to commence. Lewis, who appears to have been convinced of the inutility of reſiſtance, ſuffered himſelf to be carried along with the current he was unable to ſtem. To the abolition of tithes, and the ancient privileges of the nobility, he expreſſes, in a letter to the archbiſhop of Arles, the moſt decided repugnance. The following extract from a letter to his brother develops the complicated perplexities of his ſituation.—

"To

"To the Count D'Artois.

"My Brother,

"You complain; and your letter, in which reſpect and fraternal affection appear to guide the pen, contains reproaches, which you think well founded. You talk of courage, of reſiſtance to the projects of factious men, of ſovereign will.... My brother, you are not a king!—Heaven, in placing me on the throne, gave me a feeling heart, and the ſentiments of a good father. All Frenchmen are my children, and I am the common father of the great family confided to my care. Hatred and ingratitude are armed againſt me: but their eyes are dimmed; their judgment is bewildered; the revolutionary torrent has dizzied every brain! the people believe they maintain the intereſts of their own cauſe; and I ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of defending myſelf alone. I might indeed give the ſignal of combat: but how horrible a combat! and how more horrible a victory!"

It is impoſſible to read this appeal to his brother's candour and humanity, without emotions of tenderneſs and commiſeration for this ill-fated prince, the victim of two conflicting parties, alternately betrayed by friends and aſſailed by foes, and vainly ſtruggling with his perverſe deſtiny. Placed in circumſtances the moſt difficult, at a criſis in the affairs of men ſuch as had never before exiſted, his evil genius was every where predominant: by his correſpondence, which exhibits all the fluctuations of a mind ever vibrating between confidence and doubt, hope and fear, he appears to have often withſtood the pernicious counſels of his own family, and to have determined to ſtand or fall with that conſtitution to which he had pledged his protection. This reſolution, it is however obvious, reſulted from ſentiments of humanity, not from principles of patriotiſm: Lewis was not of a nature to have adventured voluntarily on a revolution—his timidity ſhrunk from the innovations ſuggeſted by Turgot, all his prejudices, all his habitudes mutinied at the daring encroachments of the National Aſſembly. His conceſſions were made from conſcientious motives to avert evil, not to produce good.

From his birth deſtined to abſolute ſovereignty, the inheritance tranſmitted by his anceſtors, it was natural that Lewis ſhould regard with more veneration and complacency the ſacred authority of his fathers, than the name of Liberty, the new, and to him the unknown, divinity, whoſe power was become the idolatry of what he thought the deluded people. Far then from conſidering the ſurrender of ancient privileges as an act of duty, he views it as a ſacrifice to expedience, which he juſtifies with his family on the plea of *neceſſity*. Confiding in the attachment of the French nation, he ſometimes aſſures himſelf of a final triumph over his adverſaries;

yet in a letter to the Count d'Artois, whoſe emigration he had diſapproved, he gives this charge with equal energy and pathos: "Oh! repeat often to thoſe Frenchmen who are aſſembled againſt my wiſhes, againſt my orders, on the banks of the Rhine, that I have loſt all hope; that it is impoſſible for me to ſubdue the hydra of diſcord, conciliate men's minds, and re-eſtabliſh internal peace; but that amidſt the great dangers with which I am ſurrounded there ſtill remains for me one reſource, that of knowing how to die." Perhaps Lewis never appears more amiable than in this anſwer to M. de Bouillè, who had with ſome juſtice reproached himſelf with the miſcarriage of the fatal expedition to Montmidi: "You have done your duty, Sir; ceaſe to accuſe yourſelf: and yet I can conceive your affliction. You have riſked every thing for me, and have not ſucceeded. Deſtiny oppoſed my projects, and *yours:* fatal circumſtances palſied my will, your courage, and rendered null your preparations. I do not murmur againſt Providence; ſucceſs, I know, depended on myſelf: but he muſt have an atrocious mind, who could have ſhed the blood of his ſubjects, and by making reſiſtance have cauſed a civil war in France. Thoſe ideas rent my boſom, and all my reſolutions vaniſhed: to ſucceed, I muſt have had the heart of Nero, and the ſoul of Caligula. Receive, Sir, my thanks: why have I not the power to teſtify to you all my gratitude?" In the courſe of the correſpondence we learn that overtures were made to the king by the leaders of the Gironde, to which he was diſpoſed to liſten; but which, from the fatal indeciſion inherent in his character, he did not accept. It is curious to obſerve in his eſtimate of the political talents at that time confederated in Paris, a ſtriking coincidence of ſentiment with Madame Roland, who, though devoted to the cauſe of liberty, acknowledged that none of its champions were worthy to be its chief. "We have," ſays Madame Roland, "men of wit, poets, people of talent, but one great comprehenſive mind, one luminous genius formed for pre-eminence, and fitted for control, has not ariſen among us." "There are," ſays Lewis, "ſome fine ſpeakers, but men without conduct or genius, and incapable of acting: Condorcet has his head ſtuffed with demonſtrations and problems; it is not theory we want, but active experience. Vergniaud has not ſufficient coolneſs for the cabinet."

As the criſis of his fate approaches, the character of Lewis riſes, and the energy and elevation of his ſentiments are poured forth in a nervous ſtrain of manly eloquence. After the atrocious outrages of the tenth of Auguſt, when compelled to implore of the National Aſſembly an aſylum for his family, he

he complains with calmneſs, and ſolicits with dignity. He concludes with a declaration of amneſty, "May the evil already perpetrated be buried in oblivion, and may peace ariſe from the aſhes of the palace of my fathers."

Lewis was now on the brink of that cataſtrophe which terminated his life and reign. The following letter was addreſſed to his brother, but never reached him:—

"*Auguſt* 12, 1792, *Seven in the Morning.*

"My Brother,

"I am no longer king! the public voice will make known to you the moſt cruel cataſtrophe.—I am the moſt unfortunate of huſbands, and of fathers!—I am the victim of my own goodneſs, of fear, of hope:—it is an impenetrable myſtery of iniquity! They have bereaved me of every thing: they have maſſacred my faithful ſubjects. I have been decoyed by ſtratagem far from my palace; and they now accuſe me! I am a captive; they drag me to priſon, and the queen, my children, and madame Elizabeth, ſhare my ſad fate! I can no longer doubt that I am an object odious in the eyes of the French, led aſtray by prejudice.—This is the ſtroke which is moſt inſupportable. My brother! but a little while, and I ſhall exiſt no longer: Remember to avenge my memory, by publiſhing how much I loved this ungrateful people. Recal one day to their remembrance the wrongs they have done me, and tell them I forgave them.—Adieu, my brother! for the laſt time!"

In addition to the letters furniſhed by the French editors, Miſs Williams has annexed three ſupplementary letters, two of which are from the king to the Baron de Breteuil, and the king of Pruſſia; the third from the king's brother to the baron. Theſe letters, in her opinion, contain unequivocal proofs that Lewis the Sixteenth, notwithſtanding his repeated declarations and oaths to ſupport the principles of the revolution, and the conſtitution, was guilty of the charge imputed to him, that of *labouring* to ſubvert both. In the letter to the Baron de Breteuil, who was at that time his ſecret agent at the court of Vienna, Lewis inveſts him with full power to treat in his name with the reſpective ſovereigns in his intereſt. He adds, that the great end in view is the eſtabliſhment of his lawful authority, and the happineſs of his people. The date of this paper is November, 1790. In the letter addreſſed to the king of Pruſſia, which is dated November, 1791, Lewis claims the friendſhip which he had been taught to expect from his Pruſſian Majeſty, adverts to the diſpoſitions manifeſted by the factions to deſtroy even the remains of the monarchy, and announces his application to the courts of Madrid, Vienna, Stockholm, and Peterſburgh: to theſe he obſerves, he has ſuggeſted the idea of a congreſs of the principal powers of Europe, ſupported by an *armed force*, in order to arreſt the

courſe of faction in France, to promote the eſtabliſhment of a better order of things, and to prevent the contagion which raged in one country from ſpreading to the other ſtates of Europe. If these letters be received as genuine, and they are, like the preceding, to be received on the ſingle teſtimony of the tranſlatreſs, it certainly will appear that Lewis had authorized a ſecret negotiation in his own behalf with ſeveral diſtinguiſhed courts of Europe: that he adopted this meaſure with heſitation and reluctance it is fairly preſumable from his decided diſapprobation of the conduct of the emigrant princes, and his regrets at their hoſtile aſpect on the French frontiers. Nor can we ſubſcribe to the juſtice of Miſs Williams's remark, that by the re-eſtabliſhment of his lawful authority the unfortunate monarch meant the deſtruction of whatever had been effected ſince the meeting of the States-General, that is, a complete counter-revolution. After reading his letters to his brother, we cannot but regard his application to the European courts as a meaſure to which he was impelled by the popular tumult that ſtill ſubſiſted,—by the pernicious counſels of his immediate friends and adherents, and his apprehenſion that he revolutionary torrent would continue to roll on with unabated impetuoſity till it had ſwept away every veſtige of monarchy, and involved even the exiſting conſtitution in the univerſal wreck of ages. We are offering not the *apotheoſis*, but the apology of this ill-fated prince: we contend not that he loved the æra of 1789, but that he loved France, and was incapable of *deliberately* forming a conſpiracy againſt the new charter which he had ſubſcribed: what he wrote was wrung from him by hard neceſſity, that is, by the perſuaſion that no other means remained for reſtoring order and tranquillity.—The remainder of this work is compoſed of detached pieces:—a letter from Lewis the Sixteenth on the education of the dauphin—miſcellaneous maxims and reflexions—thoughts, extracted from the works of Staniſlaus, king of Poland—and ſome marginal notes on a memorial of Turgot, which evince that Lewis poſſeſſed conſiderable political information, and no ſmall portion of political ſagacity. Miſs Williams has ſubjoined obſervations to each letter, moſt of which might in our opinion have been judiciouſly exchanged for a clavis hiſtorica, connecting the different intervals of the correſpondence, and epitomizing the moſt important events prior and ſubſequent to the revolution. The information contained in theſe annotations is too ſcanty and inſignificant to be uſeful to any claſs of readers: the tranſlation is executed with ſpirit, fidelity, and elegance; the preface reminded us of the pleaſure

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we had received from ſome of Miſs Williams's former productions. We were pleaſed with the following beautiful and original illuſtration of a ſentiment which almoſt every one in the peruſal of ancient hiſtory has experienced—a reſtleſs deſire to penetrate to the domeſtic threſhold, the ſecret chamber of celebrated perſonages: "We ſee them," ſays Miſs Williams, "like diſtant ſtars, lighting up the darkneſs which covers remote times, and wiſh for a mental teleſcope capable of piercing the gloom of ages, through which their beams paſs before they reach us."

ART. X. *The Subſtance of a Speech intended to have been ſpoken in the Houſe of Lords, Nov.* 22, 1803, *by* R. Watſon, Lord Biſhop of Landaff. 8vo. pp. 46. price 1*s.* 6*d.* 1803. Second Edition. Cadel and Davies.

AMONG the many patriotic effuſions which the threatened invaſion has produced, none will be peruſed with more ſatisfaction than the pamphlet before us. The life of the biſhop of Landaff has been eminently uſeful to the intereſts of literature and ſcience. The theological ſtudent, and the tyro in chemiſtry, are under very great obligations to his lordſhip for his "Tracts," and his "Eſſays," which have contributed more than almoſt any other publications to the advancement of theſe departments of uſeful and important knowledge.—The public, who are fully apprized of the zeal which this worthy prelate has ever ſhown in warding off the infidel attacks made againſt our holy religion, and who know with what attention he has watched over his own dioceſe, will perhaps anticipate the fervour of his zeal when directed againſt an enemy who threatens to ſubvert every thing which we value as Britons and as Chriſtians. It was not to be expected that when the whole nation was in arms, when every man was contending who ſhould ſtand moſt forward in defence of their native country, that the Biſhop of Landaff could remain a "careleſs, cold, or timid ſpectator of the common danger." His lordſhip, however, is not contented with mere declamation on the national danger, and exhortations on the neceſſity of effectual defence; he has brought forward four great plans, which he conceives, if carried into effect, would be of the laſt importance in promoting the ſalvation of the United Kingdoms. Theſe plans it is our duty to lay before the public, with ſuch obſervations as they naturally ſuggeſt.

His firſt regards a military force, by which he would have all our young men taught the uſe of arms. He aſſumes that fifty thouſand of thoſe who attain to the age of ſeventeen may each ſucceed-

ſucceeding year be trained to ſtrict military diſcipline without giving any ſenſible interruption to the induſtry of the country. Each claſs are, according to this plan, to be regularly exerciſed a certain number of days annually for ſix years, that is from the age of ſeventeen to twenty-three. And in the ſeventh year the firſt fifty thouſand are to be diſmiſſed as *emeriti* from further attendance, except an actual invaſion ſhould render their ſervices neceſſary.

To a plan of this kind we ſhould heartily wiſh ſucceſs, could we bring ourſelves to believe that the miniſtry would adopt it. We have been reproached by our enemies as indifferent to military glory, as being ſo completely abſorbed with a love of gain as to conſider no ſacrifice too great for the attainment of this "one thing needful." The event of the preſent conteſt will, we truſt, ſhew that however we may be attached to commercial projects, yet that our regard to our country is ſtill greater, and that hereafter our citizens will be armed ſoldiers, ready to puniſh the temerity of any foe who ſhall invade, or threaten to invade, our coaſts.

The Biſhop's ſecond plan comprehends the payment of the greater part of the national debt, by a tax upon all the property of each individual. We are far from thinking this ſcheme ſo perfectly practicable as his lordſhip ſuppoſes. It is utterly impoſſible to come at the knowledge of every man's property; and a very large proportion of that property in this kingdom does not conſiſt in money or in land, but in that ſort of ſtock and moveables which would be no value to a nation unleſs purchaſers of them could be found. But when ſo large a number become ſellers, where can we look for the buyers? We alſo totally object to the principle which his lordſhip aſſumes as a ſelf-evident propoſition, namely, that a man of ten pounds a year is as able to pay ten ſhillings annually as a man with an income of five hundred pounds is to pay twenty-five pounds. Nor are we ready to denominate *bread* a *luxury* becauſe there are Indians who feed on the bark of trees. We agree, however, with his lordſhip that the magnitude of the debt is the moſt alarming evil that we have to fear, and wiſh that we could admit the practicability of his ſcheme for annihilating it. In common with every lover of his country we tremble at the danger to which we are expoſed, but we have ſeen no plan which is likely to avert it, without the proſpect of a more continued peace than Europe has for the laſt century enjoyed. The ſinking fund, aided by the national ſpirit of enterpriſe and induſtry, would, with peace, ſave us from a general bankruptcy, but without permanent peace the ſafety and proſperity of theſe realms cannot be relied on.

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The next plan ſuggeſted by the Biſhop of Landaff relates to the Catholics of Ireland, whoſe good will he conceives ought to be conciliated. Indeed it is a ſubject of deep and poignant regret that ſome mode of ſatisfying their claims and realizing their hopes had not long ſince been adopted. His lordſhip, without going into the queſtion of general emancipation, urges the propriety of paying the Catholic clergy from the national funds:

"Juſtice, I think," ſays he, "may be done to the catholics without injuſtice being done to the proteſtants. The proteſtant clergy may continue to poſſeſs the tithes of the country, and the catholic clergy may be provided for from the public exchequer of the empire. I ſee no danger which would ariſe to the eſtabliſhed church from ſome ſuch arrangement as this, and it would probably be attended with the greateſt advantage to the ſtate. We think the catholics to be in an error; they think the ſame of us: both ought to reflect that every error is not a criminal error, and their error is the greateſt who moſt err againſt chriſtian charity.

"If any one ſhould contend that this is not the time for government to make conceſſions to Ireland, I wiſh him to conſider whether there is any time in which it is improper for either individuals or nations to do juſtice, any ſeaſon improper for extinguiſhing animoſity, any occaſion more ſuitable than the preſent for putting an end to heart burnings and internal diſcontent. I ſhould be as averſe as any man from making conceſſions to an enemy invading the country, but I would do much to gain a cordial friend to aſſiſt me in driving him back; and ſuch a friend I am confident Ireland will become."

Were this liberal policy, this foundation of future good-will adopted, the union which has been eſtabliſhed might be productive of the moſt beneficial effects to all parties in both iſlands; the inhabitants of the one would vie with thoſe of the other in manifeſtations of true loyalty—in defending the rights and independence of the whole, and in repelling any hoſtile attacks that might be made againſt their peace and commercial intereſts. The widely-extended dominion of France is perhaps an evil ſeriouſly to be deprecated by the powers of Europe; but if the Britiſh and the Iriſh could by the wiſdom and liberal policy of government be brought to act as one, having only a common cauſe, we might, under Providence, defy the projects of Gallic ambition, and, as far as reſpected our own iſlands, we might be able to ſay, "thus far ſhalt thou come and no further."

The laſt plan mentioned in this able pamphlet regards the Diſſenters of Engiand, for whoſe ſake the author wiſhes that the Teſt and Corporation Acts might be repealed,

"As a mean of combining together in the cords of mutual amity and confidence, the whole ſtrength and ſpirit of the country. I am far from inſinuating that the diſſenters want to be bribed to their duty by the repeal of the Teſt Act; no, my Lords, churchmen and diſſenters of every denomination, are equally zealous in the common cauſe—they ſeem to me to emulate the patriotiſm of the patricians and plebeians at Rome; who, for five hundred years, waged an eternal war of words about their reſpective rights, claims, oppreſſions, privileges—but when their country was in danger, when an enemy invaded their territory, they laid aſide their diſputes; their only contention then was, which of them could ſhow the greateſt courage in repulſing the enemy of them both."

Handſome as this compliment is, yet the conduct and zeal of the diſſenters ſeem to warrant his Lordſhip in the application of it. If we may judge from the number of diſcourſes which their miniſters have publiſhed on the threatened invaſion, and from the proportion of diſſenters to be found among the volunteers, there is reaſon to believe that they have not been wanting in duty to their ſovereign, and in love to their country. To the honour of multitudes among them, let it be recorded that they have taken upon themſelves an awful reſponſibility; they have accepted His Majeſty's commiſſion, though every man by ſo doing has rendered himſelf liable to the moſt cruel penalties. Such conduct will not only inſure them indemnity, but we may hope with the Biſhop of Landaff, that it will entitle them to a repeal of thoſe acts, the ſpirit of which is to ſeparate them from their brethren of the eſtabliſhed church. We truſt, however, that they will act conſiſtently with themſelves, and never urge their claims during a ſeaſon of national danger.

Towards the concluſion of this ſpeech, the Biſhop enters into a vindication of the preſent war, on the principle of checking the ambitious projects of France; but having given ſo full an account of the other parts of the work, we cannot detail his Lordſhip's arguments on this point, nor indulge in further extracts, which eminently diſplay his animation, when contemplating the dangers of a ſucceſsful invaſion.

ART. XI. *The Parallel between England and Carthage, and between France and Rome, examined. By a Citizen of Dublin.* 8vo. pp. 47. price 1*s.* 6*d.* Murray.

EVER ſince the revolution in 1789, it has been a favourite topic among the ephemeral leaders in France, to compare the relative ſituation of England and France, with that of ancient Carthage and Rome, and in the fervour of their zeal there

there have not been wanting modern Catos who have inſolently applied to us the *delenda eſt Carthago*. The author of this ſpirited, and in many reſpects, eloquent pamphlet, has ſhown the futility of ſuch declamations: he has examined the ſubject and pointed out in what reſpects the reſemblance agrees, and in what it differs; and his concluſions, which are fairly drawn, are perfectly honourable to our nation.

If Carthage and England be ſimilar as great maritime powers, and enjoying extenſive foreign poſſeſſions, with the ſovereignty of the ſea; the political inſtitutions and military arrangements of the former are not to be compared with thoſe of the latter. Carthage was governed by factions, and defended by mercenaries, which led to her extinction. The government of England is formed of the whole people, and her conſtitution defended by the children of her ſoil, maintaining by their blood the independence which the virtue of their fathers obtained.

In examining how far ancient Rome can be compared with modern France, it is obſerved among many other circumſtances, that, the dominion of Rome extended over the world. The territorial poſſeſſions of France are limited. The former had an eſtabliſhed conſtitution, the latter is a military deſpotiſm. Carthage and Rome contended for the empire of the world. The African deſtroyed, there was no third power to enter the liſts for dominion, or for glory. But admitting, the viſionary poſition, that England were to fall, Europe has ſtill ſeveral great ſtates to humble the vanity, or preſcribe a limit to the power of France. In little more than a century Carthage was utterly deſtroyed. The enmity of France againſt England has exiſted ſeveral centuries. Always a martial nation, always ambitious; eager to invade, yet never invading; ſhe never had a foot of land in theſe iſlands; never had a garriſon town, or even a military poſt. Rome did not expoſe herſelf to contempt by idle boaſting and gaſconade: ſhe fought ſingle handed againſt Carthage, ſupported by the Macedonian power. England in the wars in 1778 and 1793, fought the fleets of the whole maritime world.

A conſiderable part of this patriotic tract is taken up in ſhowing that in the character of her conqueſts, or the quantity of her power, France is inferior to Rome, but in the perfidiouſneſs with which ſhe has made treaties, and the cruelty with which ſhe conducted her wars, ſhe is equal. And towards the cloſe of his work our author traces the deſtruction of Carthage to the growing ſuperiority of the Roman navy. "By this ſuperiority Scipio tranſported his army and his ſtores. He covered the debarkation of his troops, and ſecured a retreat

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if he had been vanquiſhed." In this ſurely the French will find no ſimilarity, they who ſince the month of May have been kept cloſe priſoners by Britiſh fleets, who cannot leave their ſhores but by favour of thoſe elements which no earthly valour can control; who with all their boaſting have never been victorious either by ſea or by land when they have contended with thoſe whom they chooſe to denominate the modern Carthaginians.

Upon carefully peruſing this pamphlet we can highly commend the ſpirit and intention of the author, and at the ſame time can allow no ſmall ſhare of applauſe for the manner and ſtyle in which it is executed. We wiſh, and we truſt, that every Britiſh and Iriſh heart may feel for their country like this worthy Citizen of Dublin, who ſhall in the following paſſage ſpeak for himſelf:

" The vanity of the Gauliſh Conſul blinds him to the fate of his adopted country. He is to lead the victorious legions againſt Hannibal: he is to extinguiſh Carthage! He comes to Zama with the pride and towering hopes of Scipio. May he not be anticipated in his career by the fall of Sempronius, or the defeat of Varro? But who are theſe coward Carthaginians? Are they the Edwards and the Henries? Did they live in the days of Elizabeth! William! Anne? Who were theſe Carthagians, when the immortal Chatham wielded the energies of the Britiſh people, and proſtrated French dominion in the duſt? When did an ancient Carthaginian ſit crowned in the Capitol, to humble and to awe the majeſty of Rome? Did not a modern Carthaginian do this? Did not an Engliſh Henry ſit crowned in Paris, preſcribing laws to haughty France? What has induced the fallacious hope that this ſpirit is extinguiſhed? Was it extinguiſhed in Egypt? Has not Acre taught the Corſican that there are limitations to power and to pride? If a ſingle Britiſh officer defeated his ambition, and his veterans in Syria, has he no apprehenſion of the accumulated heroiſm of the Britiſh nations fighting for their altars and their homes?

" *Forty thouſand* veterans of the panegyrized army of Italy, ſunk before the valour of the Britiſh name, on the very ſpot where the Roman eagles baſked in the ſun of victory, and bore on their wings the triumphs of Cæſar and his fortune! Will the firſt Conſul ſay that the generals of this army were men ignorant of the military art? Were they not ſelected by himſelf for their ſuperior knowledge? Yet the veterans were vanquiſhed, and *twenty-one thouſand* of this celebrated army, commanded by generals of acknowledged talents and experience, ſurrendered to *twelve thouſand* Britiſh troops."

ART. XII. *An Eſſay on the Principle of Population, or a View of its paſt and preſent Effects on Human Happineſs; with an Inquiry into our Proſpects reſpecting the future Removal or Mitigation of the Evils which it occaſions. A New Edition, very much enlarged. By T. R. Malthus, A. M. Fellow of Jeſus College Cambridge.* 4to. pp. 610. price 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* boards. Johnſon. 1803.

ALTHOUGH this is called a new edition of a work publiſhed in the year 1798, yet from its increaſed ſize, and from the different plan of treating the ſubject which the author has now adopted, it may be regarded as one entirely new; as ſuch we ſhall conſider it. The celebrity which Mr. Malthus obtained by his ſmaller volume cannot fail of inſuring to this a conſiderable portion of public attention. While many moral and political writers have imagined that the evils neceſſarily ariſing from a too numerous population could not be felt in ſociety, till the earth were completely cultivated and rendered as productive as poſſible; and have accordingly anticipated for man, even here, future indefinite greatneſs and felicity, Mr. M. undertakes to ſhow that the principle of population has in almoſt every ſtage of ſociety been checked and repreſſed by a great law of nature, the proportion which animated life bears to the means of ſubſiſtence. He lays it down, therefore, as an incontrovertible maxim, that there is a conſtant tendency in all animated life to increaſe beyond the nouriſhment prepared for it. This poſition ſeems to have been acknowledged by the beſt writers on the ſubject, who, however, have neglected to trace the natural and neceſſary effects that muſt ariſe from it, although among theſe effects may be reckoned a very conſiderable portion of that vice and miſery, and of that unequal diſtribution of the bounties of nature, which it has been the unceaſing object of the philanthrophiſt in all ages to correct.

The plan which our author adopts in this inquiry, concerning the future improvement of ſociety, is *firſt* to inveſtigate the cauſes that have hitherto impeded the progreſs of mankind towards happineſs: and *ſecondly* to examine the probability of the total or partial removal of theſe cauſes in future. And the main doctrine which he means to illuſtrate and defend is 1, That population is neceſſarily limited by the means of ſubſiſtence, and 2, That it invariably increaſes where the means of ſubſiſtence increaſe, unleſs prevented by the operation of powerful checks.

To prove that population has a conſtant tendency to increaſe beyond the means of ſubſiſtence, Mr. M. ſhows that population

population under certain circumſtances would double itſelf in twenty-five years, and ſo continue increaſing according to the law of geometrical proportion, but that the means of ſubſiſtence, under the circumſtances moſt favourable to human induſtry, could not be made to increaſe faſter than in an arithmetical ratio. Admitting then, that in the firſt period, or twenty-five years, the produce of the earth were actually doubled, at the end of a century the effects of theſe two different rates of increaſe, when brought together, will be very ſtriking; for if the preſent population of Great Britain be eleven millions, and the preſent produce equal to the eaſy ſupport of ſuch a number, in a hundred years the population would be one hundred and ſeventy-ſix millions, and the means of ſubſiſtence only equal to the ſupport of fifty-five millions, leaving a population of one hundred twenty-one millions totally unprovided for. Taking the whole earth inſtead of this iſland, emigration would of courſe be excluded, and ſuppoſing the preſent population equal to a thouſand millions, the human ſpecies would increaſe as the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, &c. and ſubſiſtence as 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. ſo that at the end of two centuries the population would be to the means of ſubſiſtence as two hundred and fifty-ſix to nine; in three centuries it would be as four thouſand and ninety-ſix to thirteen; and in two thouſand years, the difference would be almoſt incalculable.

Here no limits are placed to the produce of the earth, yet the power of population being ſo much ſuperior, the increaſe of the human ſpecies can only be kept down to the level of the means of ſubſiſtence by the conſtant operation of the ſtrong law of neceſſity, acting as a check upon the greater power.

Such is Mr. M's general ſtatement, the remainder of his firſt book and all the ſecond are ſpent in enumerating the ſeveral checks to population in different countries over the whole known globe, both as they now exiſt, and as they have influenced ſociety in former ages. Theſe checks are claſſed under two general heads, the *preventive* and the *poſitive*. The *former*, is peculiar to man, and ariſes from thoſe faculties which enable him to calculate diſtant conſequences, and to inquire, before he follow the bent of his inclinations, whether he ſhall be able to ſupport the offſpring which he may probably bring into the world. This, when not followed by irregular gratifications, is properly called by our author *moral reſtraint*. But among the *poſitive* checks, he enumerates unwholeſome occupations, ſevere labour, and expoſure to the ſeaſons, bad nurſing of children, great and crowded towns, exceſſes

exceſſes of all kinds, the whole train of common diſeaſes, wars, peſtilences and famine. Of the poſitive checks, thoſe which ariſe from the laws of nature are called *miſery*, and thoſe brought on by ourſelves are called *vice*, and their conſequences are miſery. Hence all the checks which repreſs the power of population are by this theory reſolvable into *moral reſtraint*, *vice*, and *miſery*.

We know not how vice and miſery can affect the *principle* of population: they may, and do perpetually, deſtroy their thouſands, but the principle of population is ſtill the ſame; and, in this view of the matter, it is to be regretted that Mr. M. had not been more accurate in the uſe of his terms. It appears, however, to us, that the only check to the law of population, by which the human ſpecies is prevented from that rapid increaſe which is ever found in favourable circumſtances, is the ſcarcity of food, or the difficulty there is in multiplying the means of ſubſiſtence in proportion to the natural increaſe of the human race. This, at leaſt, is the great check to which the others may in one ſhape or other be all traced. We muſt, however, follow our author who, with remarkable diligence, has given a very elaborate account of all the cauſes that can well be enumerated as preventing the multiplication of our ſpecies. Among thoſe who are leaſt civilized, are mentioned the inhabitants of Terra Del Fuego; Van Diemen's Land, and New Holland: from theſe we are led to the American Indians, and the natives of the iſlands in the South Sea; and we truſt that a more gloomy picture of human nature cannot be drawn than Mr. M. has given, in ſhowing the means to which theſe barbarous nations have recourſe to keep the number of people evenly balanced with the average means of ſubſiſtence. A variety of facts are adduced, which no feeling mind can contemplate without ſenſations of melancholy and horror, to ſhow that the natives of theſe places are often viſited by famine and peſtilence: that not unfrequently wars of the moſt cruel kind are excited, which end in the deſtruction of whole nations, while the inhuman conquerors riot upon the mangled carcaſes of the vanquiſhed: in ſome caſes, the treatment of women renders them incapable of performing the duties of a parent, and of courſe the greater part of the children periſh: that in others, as in the Society Iſlands, promiſcuous intercourſe, and infanticide, are not only permitted, but encouraged, and rendered faſhionable by the example of all the higher ranks of the people; theſe are conſidered as checks ſufficient to account for the limited population that is found in the countries in which they are practiſed. In anſwer to Mr. Hume's obſervation, that the

permiſſion of infanticide generally contributes to increaſe the population, Mr. M. ſays the " faſhion of the Eareeoie ſocieties, in Otaheite and the neighbouring iſlands, may have made them an exception to this rule, and the cuſtom has probably here a contrary tendency."

With this view of ſavage life can there be a doubt whether man has been improved by the progreſs of arts and civilization? It is certain that land will produce more in proportion to the culture beſtowed upon it; and the greateſt attention is paid to the intereſts of agriculture in thoſe nations in which the advancement in civilization is carried fartheſt, conſequently the means of ſubſiſtence will be more ample, and will of courſe afford happineſs to a larger number of human beings. Indeed, as Mr. M. obſerves, the only advantage in ſavage above civilized life, is the poſſeſſion of a greater degree of leiſure by the maſs of the people, which is probably overbalanced by greater diſadvantages:

" Though we may compare the labour of theſe two claſſes of human ſociety, their privations and ſufferings will admit of no compariſon. Nothing appears to me to place this in ſo ſtriking a point of view as the whole tenor of education among the ruder tribes of ſavages in America. Every thing that can contribute to teach the moſt unmoved patience under the ſevereſt pains and misfortunes, every thing that tends to harden the heart, and narrow all the ſources of ſympathy, is moſt ſeduloufly inculcated in the ſavage. The civilized man, on the contrary, though he may be adviſed to bear evil with patience when it comes, is not inſtructed to be always expecting it. Other virtues are to be called into action beſides fortitude. He is taught to feel for his neighbour, or even his enemy, in diſtreſs; to encourage and expand his ſocial affections; and in general, to enlarge the ſphere of pleaſurable emotions. The obvious inference from theſe two different modes of education is, that the civilized man hopes to enjoy, the ſavage expects only to ſuffer."

In treating of the checks to population among the ancient inhabitants of the North of Europe, Mr. M. ſhows from a great maſs of hiſtorical facts, that, independently of inferior checks, which would concur, among the ſhepherds, war and famine were the principal cauſes that kept population down to the level of their ſcanty means of ſubſiſtence; and to theſe, among paſtoral nations in general, are to be added reſtraint, from inability to obtain a wife, vicious cuſtoms with reſpect to women, epidemics, and the diſeaſes ariſing from extreme poverty. In Africa, the moſt conſiderable checks to population have been famine, and the wars which one nation makes upon another for the ſake of ſupplying

Europeans

Europeans with ſlaves. But notwithſtanding the ravages which are made upon Africa by the conſtant drain of the number of its inhabitants, occaſioned by the ſlave-trade, the loſs of numbers from inceſſant war, and the checks to increaſe from vice and other cauſes, it appears, according to our author, that the population is continually paſſing beyond the means of ſubſiſtence. It may, however, be queſtioned whether Mr. M. is not too much diſpoſed to view the ſubject in this light. Mr. Park has aſſerted that much good land remains uncultivated in Africa: why then ſhould not the frequent recurrence of famine, and ſeaſons of leſs general ſcarcity, be imputed to the negligence of the people? If the means of ſubſiſtence by proper exertions of induſtry could be augmented, it ſeems irrational and unjuſt to impute, to an increaſe of population, wars of the moſt dreadful kind, and famine, as the neceſſary attendants. The fault belongs to man, not to the ſyſtem.

We cannot pretend to follow Mr. M. in deſcribing the different checks to population as they exiſt in the ſeveral nations of Aſia and Europe, and which conſtitute a very conſiderable part of the volume. Every reader will allow that he has ſpared no pains in collecting facts for his purpoſe; and though there is not that order in arrangement which more conſideration might have ſuggeſted, yet he has done much to develop a ſubject that has hitherto been buried in obſcurity. In rearing his own ſyſtem he has omitted no opportunity of bringing before the public facts and illuſtrations, ſelected from approved, and in moſt caſes, from the beſt authorities, which will be uſeful in other ſubjects of political arithmetic beſide that to which they are immediately applied.

In Aſia and in Europe the checks to the increaſe of population, though varying, in ſome reſpects, in every ſeparate nation, are ſtill more or leſs to be traced to the cauſes already noticed. To unravel our author's ſyſtem with regard to ſtates highly civilized, and in which population is carried very far, we ſhall lay before the reader what Mr. Malthus ſays of the check to population in England:

"The moſt curſory view of ſociety in this country muſt convince us that, throughout all ranks, the preventive check to population prevails in a conſiderable degree. Thoſe among the higher claſſes, who live principally in towns, often want the inclination to marry, from the facility with which they can indulge themſelves in an illicit intercourſe with the ſex; and others are deterred from marrying by the idea of the expences that they muſt retrench, and the pleaſures of which they muſt deprive themſelves, on the ſuppoſition of having a family. When the fortune is large, theſe conſiderations are certainly trivial; but a preventive foreſight of this kind has objects of much greater weight for its contemplation as we go lower.

" A man of liberal education, with an income only juſt ſufficient to enable him to aſſociate in the rank of gentlemen, muſt feel abſolutely certain, that if he marry and have a family, he ſhall be obliged, if he mix in ſociety, to rank himſelf with farmers and tradeſmen. The woman that a man of education would naturally make the object of his choice is one brought up in the ſame habits and ſentiments with himſelf, and uſed to the familiar intercourſe of a ſociety totally different from that to which ſhe muſt be reduced by marriage. Can a man eaſily conſent to place the object of his affection in a ſituation ſo diſcordant, probably, to her habits and inclinations? Two or three ſteps of deſcent in ſociety, particularly at this round of the ladder, where education ends and ignorance begins, will not be conſidered by the generality of people as a chimerical, but a real evil. If ſociety be deſirable, it ſurely muſt be free, equal, and reciprocal ſociety, where benefits are conferred as well as received, and not ſuch as the dependant finds with his patron, or the poor with the rich.

" Theſe conſiderations certainly prevent a great number in this rank of life from following the bent of their inclinations in an early attachment. Others, influenced either by a ſtronger paſſion, or a weaker judgment, diſregard theſe conſiderations; and it would be hard indeed if the gratification of ſo delightful a paſſion as virtuous love did not ſometimes more than counterbalance all its attendant evils. But I fear that it muſt be acknowledged that the more general conſequences of ſuch marriages are rather calculated to juſtify, than to diſappoint, the forebodings of the prudent.

" The ſons of tradeſmen and farmers are exhorted not to marry, and generally find it neceſſary to comply with this advice till they are ſettled in ſome buſineſs, or farm, which may enable them to ſupport a family. Theſe events may not, perhaps, occur till they are far advanced in life. The ſcarcity of farms is a very general complaint, and the competition in every kind of buſineſs is ſo great, that it is not poſſible that all ſhould be ſucceſsful. Among the clerks in counting-houſes, and the competitors for all kinds of mercantile and profeſſional employment, it is probable that the preventive check to population prevails more than in any other department of ſociety.

" The labourer who earns eighteen pence or two ſhillings a day, and lives at his eaſe as a ſingle man, will heſitate a little before he divides that pittance among four or five, which ſeems to be not more than ſufficient for one. Harder fare, and harder labour, he would perhaps be willing to ſubmit to for the ſake of living with the woman that he loves; but he muſt feel conſcious that, ſhould he have a large family, and any ill fortune whatever, no degree of frugality, no poſſible exertion of his manual ſtrength would preſerve him from the heart-rending ſenſation of ſeeing his children ſtarve, or of being obliged to the pariſh for their ſupport. The love of independence is a ſentiment that ſurely none would wiſh to ſee eradicated, though the pariſh law of England, it muſt be confeſſed, is a ſyſtem of all others the moſt calculated gradually to weaken this ſentiment, and in the end will probably deſtroy it completely.

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"The ſervants who live in the families of the rich have reſtraints yet ſtronger to break through in venturing upon marriage. They poſſeſs the neceſſaries and even the comforts of life almoſt in as great plenty as their maſters: their work is eaſy, and their food luxurious, compared with the work and food of the claſs of labourers; and their ſenſe of dependence is weakened by the conſcious power of changing their maſters, if they feel themſelves offended. Thus comfortably ſituated at preſent, what are their proſpects if they marry? Without knowledge, or capital, either for buſineſs or farming, and unuſed, and therefore unable, to earn a ſubſiſtence by daily labour, their only refuge ſeems to be a miſerable alehouſe, which certainly offers no very enchanting proſpect of a happy evening to their lives. The greater number of them, therefore, deterred by this uninviting view of their future ſituation, content themſelves with remaining ſingle where they are."

Having enumerated the ſeveral checks to an increaſing population, Mr. Malthus aſſerts that theſe checks reſult principally from an inſufficiency of ſubſiſtence, in proof of which he refers to the rapid increaſe which has invariably taken place whenever, by ſome ſudden enlargement in the means of ſubſiſtence, theſe checks have been in any conſiderable degree removed. Such was the caſe with many of the colonies from ancient Greece; with the Iſraelities upon their arrival in Egypt; and with the European ſettlements in America. And the true reaſon why an equal number of perſons will not produce an equal increaſe in the ſame time in Great Britain is, according to our author, the want of food, at leaſt this is the moſt efficient of the great checks to population, as is evident from the rapidity with which even old ſtates recover the deſolations of war, peſtilence, famine, and the convulſions of nature, they being then placed in the ſituation of new colonies; and the effect is always anſwerable to what might be expected.

As general deductions from this part of the ſubject, it is inferred that no eſtimates of future population or depopulation, formed from any exiſting rate of increaſe or decreaſe, can be depended on. Inattentive to theſe principles, Sir Wm. Petty calculated that in the year 1800 the city of London would contain 5,359,000 inhabitants, inſtead of which it does not contain a fifth part of that number. Hence, alſo, the variation in different ſtates between the food and the numbers ſupported by it, is reſtricted to a limit beyond which it cannot paſs. In every country, the population of which is not decreaſing, the food muſt be ſufficient to ſupport and continue the race of labourers; and countries are more or leſs *populous* according to the quantity of food which they produce, or can acquire, for the uſe of man; and *happy*, according to the li-

berality with which this food is divided, or the quantity which a day's labour will purchaſe.

In ſpeaking of the means made uſe of in the courſe of nature to bring an over-grown population to a level with the means of ſubſiſtence, Mr. Malthus ſays:

"Famine ſeems to be the laſt, the moſt dreadful reſource of nature. The power of population is ſo ſuperior to the power in the earth to produce ſubſiſtence for man, that, unleſs arreſted by the preventive check, premature death muſt in ſome ſhape or other viſit the human race. The vices of mankind are active and able miniſters of depopulation; they are the precurſors in the great army of deſtruction, and often finiſh the dreadful work themſelves: but ſhould they fail in this war of extermination, ſickly ſeaſons, epidemics, peſtilence, and plague, advance in terrific array, and ſweep off their thouſands and ten thouſands. Should ſucceſs be ſtill incomplete, gigantic inevitable famine ſtalks in the rear, and with one mighty blow levels the population with the food of the world.

"Muſt it not then be acknowledged by an attentive examiner of the hiſtories of mankind, that in every age, and in every ſtate in which man has exiſted, or does now exiſt, the increaſe of population is neceſſarily limited by the means of ſubſiſtence. Population invariably increaſes when the means of ſubſiſtence increaſe, unleſs prevented by powerful and obvious checks.

"Theſe checks, and the checks which keep the population down to the level of the means of ſubſiſtence, are, moral reſtraint, vice, and miſery."

Such is the development of Mr. Malthus's ſyſtem, which he endeavours to eſtabliſh with the ardour which new diſcovery excites: but while we admit that he has thrown conſiderable light on a ſubject never before ſo fully inveſtigated, we cannot aſſent to all his propoſitions. We truſt that future inquiries will prove that he has miſtaken the ratio that muſt ſubſiſt between the increaſe of population and the augmentation of food. To admit all his theory renders the ways of Providence not only inſcrutable, but to the laſt degree gloomy: it contradicts, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, all thoſe maxims reſpecting early marriages, and the ſtrength of a country, which for ages paſt have been conſidered as ſelf-evident truths; and it diſcourages, as far as theory can counteract the tendencies of the natural paſſions, the deſire of numerous families.

In the third book, which treats of the different ſyſtems or expedients which have been propoſed or have prevailed in ſociety, as they affect the evils ariſing from the principle of population, is an examination of the ſeveral ſyſtems of equality propoſed and defended by Wallace, Condorcet, and Godwin, in the courſe of which he combats the arguments of theſe writers with conſiderable acuteneſs, and ſhows, that however pleaſant

pleaſant their theories may be on paper, they can never bear the teſt of practice. The ſyſtem adopted by Mr. Godwin he admits to be the moſt beautiful and engaging of any that have yet appeared; and the great difference between his theory and that of Mr. Malthus is, that according to the *former* almoſt all the vices and miſery that prevail in civil ſociety are to be attributed to human inſtitutions. Political regulations, and the eſtabliſhed adminiſtration of property, are, with him, the fruitful ſources of all evil, the hot-beds of all the crimes that degrade mankind: but Mr. M. conſiders theſe as light and ſuperficial in compariſon with thoſe deeper-ſeated cauſes of evil which reſult from nature. According to Mr. Godwin's ſyſtem the world might go on increaſing in population and approximating to real and perfect happineſs for myriads of centuries; whereas Mr. M. contends that, admitting all Mr. G. aſks; that his own ſyſtem of equality were fully eſtabliſhed, fifty, or even thirty years, could not elapſe before its utter deſtruction, from the ſimple principle of population alone.

In anſwer to an objection made by Mr. G. "that the exceſs of power in the principle of population, over the principle of ſubſiſtence, has never, in any paſt inſtance, in any quarter of the world, produced that total breaking up of all the ſtructures and maxims of ſociety which the ESSAY leads us to expect from it in certain caſes in future," Mr. M. obſerves that the reaſon of this is, that no attempt has ever been made to eſtabliſh ſuch a ſyſtem as Mr. Godwin himſelf has deſcribed; and, in all the common conſtitutions, the operation of the principle of population will ever be ſilent and gradual, and not different from what we daily ſee in our own country:

"Other perſons," ſays he, "beſides Mr. Godwin, have imagined that I looked to certain periods in future, when population would exceed the means of ſubſiſtence in a much greater degree than at preſent, and that the evils ariſing from the principle of population were rather in contemplation than in exiſtence; but this is a total miſconception of the argument. Poverty, and not abſolute famine, is the ſpecific effect of the principle of population, as I have before endeavoured to ſhow. Many countries are now ſuffering all the evils that can ever be expected to flow from this principle, and even if we were arrived at the abſolute limit to all further increaſe of produce, a point which we ſhall certainly never reach, I ſhould by no means expect that theſe evils would be in any marked manner aggravated. The increaſe of produce in moſt European countries is ſo very ſlow, compared with what would be required to ſupport an unreſtricted increaſe of people, that the checks which are conſtantly in action to repreſs the population to the level of a produce increaſing ſo ſlowly, would have very little more to do in wearing it down to a produce abſolutely ſtationary."

On the subject of emigration, he says, that with any view of making room for an unrestricted population it is perfectly inadequate, but as a partial expedient, and with a view of a more general cultivation and civilization, it seems proper and useful; but that it is neither the duty nor business of government either to encourage or prevent it.

The greater part of this volume contains discussions which are applicable to all countries, and, as far as the theory is just, claims the attention of the philosopher and moralist, as well as that of all enlightened governments. The three following chapters relate solely to ourselves; to the *English Poor Laws; their Administration and Defects*; and to *increasing Wealth as it affects the Condition of the Poor*. Here we meet with many valuable observations and much original reasoning. The author contends that if the Poor Laws had never existed in this country, though there might have been a few more instances of severe distress, the aggregate mass of happiness among the common people would have been much greater than it is at present; and that the radical defects of all systems of the kind is, that of tending to increase population without increasing the means for its support, and, by thus depressing the condition of those that are not relieved by parishes, to create more poor.

According to the principles laid down and defended on this part of the subject, it follows that the population of this country is already too great for the means of subsistence, and that every check should be thrown in the way to prevent the poor from increasing it by early marriages, or indeed by marrying at all, till they have every prospect of being able to support the children that may be the consequence of such marriages. With this view, in the next book Mr. M. offers a plan for the abolition of the Poor Laws, which, if we mistake not, will be abhorrent from the feelings of our readers; but the confidence with which it is proposed, as a thing that must, at least in principle, be hereafter adopted, obliges us to give the general outline, with the reasons that are offered in its defence.

Mr. M. proposes that a regulation should be made to prevent parish assistance from being extended to any child born after a certain fixed period; and that none might plead ignorance of the law, he would oblige the clergy, before the solemnization of marriage, to read an address to the parties, stating the strong obligation on every man to support his own children—the impropriety and immorality of marrying without a fair prospect of being able to do this—the evils which had resulted to the poor from the very institutions formed to assist them, and the necessity there was for abandoning all such institutions.

tutions. This he thinks would operate as a fair, diſtinct, and preciſe notice, which without preſſing hard upon individuals would releaſe the riſing generation from that miſerable and helpleſs dependence upon the government and the rich, the moral and phyſical conſequences of which are almoſt incalculable. At leaſt, ſays our author,

"After the public notice which I have propoſed had been given, and the ſyſtem of Poor Laws had ceaſed with regard to the riſing generation, if any man choſe to marry, without a proſpect of being able to ſupport a family, he ſhould have the moſt perfect liberty ſo to do. Though to marry in this caſe is in my opinion clearly an immoral act, yet it is not one which ſociety can juſtly take upon itſelf to prevent or puniſh, becauſe the puniſhment provided for it by the laws of nature falls directly and moſt ſeverely upon the individual who commits the act, and, through him, only more remotely and feebly on the ſociety. When Nature will govern and puniſh for us it is a very miſerable ambition to wiſh to ſnatch the rod from her hands, and draw upon ourſelves the odium of executioner. To the puniſhment, therefore, of nature he ſhould be left—the puniſhment of ſevere want. He has erred in the face of a moſt clear and preciſe warning, and can have no juſt reaſon to complain of any perſon but himſelf, when he feels the conſequences of his error. All pariſh aſſiſtance ſhould be moſt rigidly denied him; and if the hand of private charity be ſtretched forth in his relief, the intereſts of humanity imperiouſly require that it ſhould be adminiſtered very ſparingly. He ſhould be taught to know that the laws of Nature, which are the laws of God, had doomed him and his family to ſtarve for diſobeying their repeated admonitions; that he had no claim of right on ſociety for the ſmalleſt portion of food beyond that which his labour would fairly purchaſe; and that if he and his family were ſaved from ſuffering the utmoſt extremities of hunger, he would owe it to the pity of ſome kind benefactor, to whom, therefore, he ought to be bound by the ſtrongeſt ties of gratitude.

"If this ſyſtem were purſued, we need be under no apprehenſions whatever that the number of perſons in extreme want would be beyond the power and the will of the benevolent to ſupply. The ſphere for the exerciſe of private charity would, I am confident, be leſs than it is at preſent, and the only difficulty would be to reſtrain the hand of benevolence from aſſiſting thoſe in diſtreſs in ſo liberal a manner as to encourage indolence and want of foreſight in others.

"With regard to illegitimate children, after the proper notice had been given, they ſhould on no account whatever be allowed to have any claim to pariſh aſſiſtance. If the parents deſert their child, they ought to be made anſwerable for the crime. The infant is, comparatively ſpeaking, of no value to the ſociety, as others will immediately ſupply its place: its principal value is on account of its being the object of one of the moſt delightful paſſions in human nature---parental affection; but if this value be diſregarded by thoſe who

who are alone in a capacity to feel it, the ſociety cannot be called upon to put itſelf in their place; and has no further buſineſs in its protection than, in the caſe of its murder, or intentional ill treatment, to follow the general rules in puniſhing ſuch crimes; which rules, for the intereſts of morality, it is bound to purſue, whether the object in the particular inſtance be of value to the ſtate or not.

"At preſent the child is taken under the protection of the pariſh, and generally dies, at leaſt in London, within the firſt year. The loſs to the ſociety, if it be one, is the ſame; but the crime is diluted by the number of people concerned, and the death paſſes as a viſitation of Providence, inſtead of being conſidered as the neceſſary conſequence of the conduct of its parents, for which they ought to be held reſponſible to God and to ſociety."

Notwithſtanding the good intentions of the author, which are clearly evident in every page of the work, we are not prepared to follow him in all his plans: we hope and truſt that in endeavouring to avoid one extreme he has fallen into its oppoſite. The ſyſtem of Providence with regard to the increaſe of population, ſeems to us not liable to ſuch objections as muſt preſent themſelves to every feeling mind upon reading this and other parts of Mr. Malthus's volume. But admitting that the pariſh funds were ſhut up from the poor, that public benevolence were reſtrained by a fixed and undeviating law, no act of parliament could blunt the feelings of individuals—private benevolence would undoubtedly be extended in proportion as public charity was withdrawn. Is there an Engliſhman that could ſee a child periſh for want without holding out his hand to prevent the ſuffering? Admitting, which we are not very ready to do, the immorality of marrying at a time when the proſpect of maintaining ſix children be not quite clear, ſtill the religion, which we profeſs, recommends the duty of forgiveneſs to the offenders, and calls for the moſt extenſive acts of benevolence towards the helpleſs and unfortunate; and though we doubt not Mr. Malthus would endeavour to reconcile his theory of population with the injunctions of that religion which, from his profeſſion, he is bound to inculcate, yet it will undoubtedly be no eaſy taſk to perſuade the maſs of mankind that the two ſyſtems are at all reconcileable.

Reſpecting the nature of wealth, the agricultural and commercial ſyſtems, and bounties on the exportation of corn, Mr. Malthus has given his opinion with preciſion; but, as in the chapters in which theſe ſubjects are diſcuſſed there is leſs of novelty than in other parts of his work, we ſhall paſs on to the fourth book, the objects of which are highly intereſting, as relating "to our future proſpects reſpecting the removal or mitigation of the evils ariſing from the principle of population."

tion." The grand deſideratum is to keep the rate of population to a level with the produce of the country. To effect this, *moral reſtraint* is recommended as the only proper mean; for ſince there are, according to Mr. M. only three great checks, or at leaſt all may be reſolvable into three, namely, moral reſtraint, vice, and miſery, it is much better that the check to population ſhould ariſe from a foreſight of the difficulties attending a family, and the fear of dependent poverty, than from the actual preſence of want and ſickneſs.

"Natural and moral evil," ſays our author, "ſeem to be the inſtruments employed by the Deity in admoniſhing us to avoid any mode of conduct which is not ſuited to our being, and will conſequently injure our happineſs. If we be intemperate in eating and drinking, we are diſordered; if we indulge the tranſports of anger, we ſeldom fail to commit acts of which we afterwards repent; if we multiply too faſt, we die miſerably of poverty and contagious diſeaſes. The laws of nature in all theſe caſes are ſimilar and uniform; they indicate to us that we have followed theſe impulſes too far, ſo as to trench upon ſome other law which equally demands attention."

Notwithſtanding the mode of reaſoning adopted by Mr. M. with reſpect to marriage, and the danger of a too great population, he thinks that the paſſions which impel to this end are not ſtronger in man than they ought to be, nor could they be weakened or diminiſhed without injuring his happineſs.

In the chapter appropriated to a deſcription "of the effects which would reſult to ſociety from the general practice of the virtue of moral reſtraint," we have an admirable picture of the ſeveral advantages to be derived from a life of chaſtity till a fair proſpect of maintaining a family preſented itſelf. The arguments made uſe of on this occaſion are for the moſt part ſtrong and forcible, but whether our author could fairly introduce St. Paul's opinion on marriage as applicable to the preſent ſtate of ſociety, ſince it is well known it referred only to times of public diſtreſs and perſecution, may well be doubted.—Mr. M. however, taking it for granted that he has give abundant proofs that the population of this and other countries is already too large for the quantity of food produced, uſes every argument to perſuade the youth to defer marriage till a later period of life, and his concluſion is perfectly adapted to his principles:

"As it appears, therefore, that it is in the power of each individual to avoid all the evil conſequences to himſelf and ſociety, reſulting from the principle of population, by the practice of a virtue clearly dictated to him by the light of nature, and expreſsly enjoined in revealed religion; and as we have reaſon to think that the exerciſe

cife of this virtue to a certain degree would tend to increafe rather than diminifh individual happinefs, we can have no reafon to impeach the juftice of the Deity, becaufe his general laws make this virtue neceffary, and punifh our offences againft it by the evils attendant upon vice, and the pains that accompany the various forms of premature death. A really virtuous fociety, fuch as I have fuppofed, would avoid thefe evils. It is the apparent object of the Creator to deter us from vice by the pains which accompany it, and to lead us to virtue by the happinefs that it produces. This object appears to our conceptions to be worthy of a benevolent Creator. The laws of nature refpecting population tend to promote this object: no imputation, therefore, on the benevolence of the Deity can be founded on thefe laws which is not equally applicable to any of the evils neceffarily incidental to an imperfect ftate of exiftence."

The moft effectual mode of improving the condition of the poor is, according to Mr. M. to explain to them clearly and explicitly the true caufe of their poverty—to make them feel that a redundant population is the real fource of all their evils, and that they themfelves, by early and improvident marriages, are the caufes of the calamities which they bewail; to fhow them that the withholding of the fupplies of labour is the only poffible way of really raifing its price, and that they themfelves, being the poffeffors of this commodity, have alone the power to do it.

This mode of diminifhing poverty, which to Mr. M. feems fo perfectly clear in theory, might not be found fo fimple and eafy as he fufpects. Political economy is a fubject or branch of fcience not eafily underftood but by perfons accuftomed to patient thought and moral inveftigation. Thofe in the lower ranks of fociety muft be better inftructed before they are capable of apprehending the truths that Mr. M. would inculcate; their prejudices imbibed from earlieft infancy would appear in hoftile array againft them. Before, therefore, they could be expected to underftand the nature and caufe of poverty, they muft in general be better educated in all other topics: but education is the effect of a better condition in life, and not the caufe. Another forcible objection is that the fyftem of reform propofed would not tend to benefit, in any evident degree, the individual reformed; the good arifing would be felt by pofterity, at leaft by the rifing generation, and other things remaining the fame, is it to be expected that the mafs of the people would be ready to facrifice perfonal and prefent pleafures for the fake of promoting general and future good?

With thefe views we applaud, and fo will every virtuous mind, the zeal which Mr. M. fhows in recommending the diffufion of knowledge among the poor; and we are ready to admit

admit that nothing would ſo powerfully contribute to the advancement of rational freedom as a thorough knowledge, generally circulated, of the principal cauſe of poverty; and that the ignorance of this cauſe, and the natural conſequences of ignorance, form at preſent one of the chief obſtacles to its progreſs. The habit that the lower claſſes have of attributing the cauſe of diſtreſs to their rulers, appears to Mr. M. to be the guardian ſpirit of deſpotiſm:

"It affords to the tyrant the fatal and unanſwerable plea of neceſſity: it is the reaſon that every free government tends conſtantly to its deſtruction, and that its appointed guardians become daily leſs jealous of the encroachments of power: it is the reaſon that ſo many noble efforts in the cauſe of freedom have failed, and that almoſt every revolution, after long and painful ſacrifices, has terminated in a military deſpotiſm. While any diſſatisfied man of talents has power to perſuade the lower claſſes of people that all their poverty and diſtreſs ariſe ſolely from the iniquity of the government, though perhaps the greateſt part of what they ſuffer is totally unconnected with this cauſe, it is evident that the ſeeds of freſh diſcontents and freſh revolutions are continually ſowing. When an eſtabliſhed government has been deſtroyed, finding that their poverty is not removed, their reſentment naturally falls upon the ſucceſſors to power; and when theſe have been immolated without producing the deſired effect, other ſacrifices are called for, and ſo without end. Are we ſurpriſed that under ſuch circumſtances the majority of well-diſpoſed people, finding that a government with proper reſtrictions was unable to ſupport itſelf againſt the revolutionary ſpirit, and weary and exhauſted with perpetual change, to which they could ſee no end, ſhould give up the ſtruggle in deſpair, and throw themſelves into the arms of the firſt power which could afford them protection againſt the horrors of anarchy!"

Hence our author, who profeſſes himſelf a friend to freedom, and an enemy to large ſtanding armies, is compelled to acknowledge that without the aid of the military the diſtreſſes of the people during the late ſcarcities, encouraged by the ignorance and folly of many among the higher claſſes, might have driven them to commit the moſt dreadful outrages, and ultimately to involve the country in all the horrors of famine. Hence alſo he aſſerts that the circulation of Paine's Rights of Man has done great miſchief among the lower and middling claſſes of people in this country, not becauſe man is without rights, or that theſe rights ought not to be known, but becauſe Mr. Paine has fallen into ſome fundamental errors reſpecting the principles of government, and in many important points has ſhown himſelf totally unacquainted with the ſtructure of ſociety, and the different moral effects to be expected from the phyſical difference between this country and America. And

"Nothing

" Nothing would ſo effectually counteract the miſchiefs occaſioned by Mr. Paine's Rights of Man, as a general knowledge of the real rights of Man. What theſe rights are, it is not my buſineſs at preſent to explain; but there is one right, which man has generally been thought to poſſeſs, which I am confident he neither does, nor can poſſeſs, a right to ſubſiſtence when his labour will not fairly purchaſe it. Our laws indeed ſay, that he has this right, and bind the ſociety to furniſh employment and food to thoſe who cannot get them in the regular market; but in ſo doing, they attempt to reverſe the laws of nature; and it is, in conſequence, to be expected, not only that they ſhould fail in their object, but that the poor who were intended to be benefited, ſhould ſuffer moſt cruelly from this inhuman deceit which is practiſed upon them.

" A man who is born into a world already poſſeſſed, if he cannot get ſubſiſtence from his parents on whom he has a juſt demand, and if the ſociety do not want his labour, has no claim of right to the ſmalleſt portion of food, and, in fact, has no buſineſs to be where he is. At Nature's mighty feaſt there is no vacant cover for him. She tells him to be gone, and will quickly execute her own orders, if he do not work upon the compaſſion of ſome of her gueſts. If theſe gueſts get up and make room for him, other intruders immediately appear demanding the ſame favour. The report of a proviſion for all that come, fills the hall with numerous claimants. The order and harmony of the feaſt is diſturbed, the plenty that before reigned is changed into ſcarcity; and the happineſs of the gueſts is deſtroyed by the ſpectacle of miſery and dependance in every part of the hall, and by the clamorous importunity of thoſe who are juſtly enraged at not finding the proviſion which they had been taught to expect. The gueſts learn too late their error, in counteracting thoſe ſtrict orders to all intruders, iſſued by the great miſtreſs of the feaſt, who, wiſhing that all her gueſts ſhould have plenty, and knowing that ſhe could not provide for unlimited numbers, humanely refuſed to admit freſh comers when her table was already full.

In anſwer to the Abbé Raynal's inſinuation, " Avant toutes les loix ſociales l'homme avoit le droit de ſubſiſter." Mr. M. ſhows that ſocial laws very greatly increaſe this power by enabling a much greater number to ſubſiſt, than could ſubſiſt without them, and ſo far very much enlarge " *le droit de ſubſiſter;*" but neither before nor after the inſtitution of ſocial laws, could an unlimited number ſubſiſt; and before as well as ſince, he who ceaſed to have the power, ceaſed to have the right.

Such are the truths which our author wiſhes to have generally circulated among the lower claſſes, who are not inclined to be viſionary; whoſe diſtreſſes are always real, though not attributed to the real cauſes. But if theſe cauſes were properly explained to them, and they were taught to know how ſmall a part of their preſent diſtreſs was attributable to government,

ment, and how great a part to cauſes totally unconnected with it; that the chief ſource of want and unhappineſs is beyond the power even of government to remove, and that it depends upon the conduct of the poor themſelves; this knowledge would, inſtead of giving any advantage to government, give an additional weight to the popular ſide of the queſtion, by removing the dangers with which, from ignorance, it is at preſent accompanied, and thus tend in a very powerful manner to promote the cauſe of rational freedom.

Having diſcuſſed the plan of the gradual abolition of the Poor Laws, to which we have already referred, our author treats "of the modes of correcting the prevailing opinions on the ſubject of population." This he admits muſt be a work of time, and can only be done, by circulating juſter notions on theſe ſubjects, in writing and converſation, and by endeavouring to impreſs as ſtrongly as poſſible on the public mind, that it is not the duty of man ſimply to propagate his ſpecies, but to propagate virtue and happineſs; and that, if he has not a tolerably fair proſpect of doing this, he is by no means called upon to leave deſcendants. Society, he thinks, has a right to require of its members, that they ſhould not have families without being able to ſupport them. To ſecure the operation of the preventive check to population, the eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem of parochial education is recommended, in which, to the uſual ſubjects of inſtruction, ſhould be added frequent explanations of the real ſtate of the lower claſſes of ſociety, as effected by the principle of population, and their conſequent dependence on themſelves for the chief part of their happineſs or miſery. If in the courſe of time, a few of the ſimpleſt principles of political economy could be added to theſe inſtructions, the benefit to ſociety would, in Mr. M's opinion, be almoſt incalculable. From education, he expects all that practical reform, which according to his ſyſtem, will alone baniſh from the world the wretchedneſs and miſery which are the reſult of an increaſing population.

Even in the direction and application of private benevolence, which the author would not by any means annihilate, theſe principles of political economy ſhould always be ſtrictly inculcated, the poor ſhould be taught, that on their own exertions they muſt alone depend. In this as in ſeveral other parts of the volume, facts and arguments are adduced to ſhow that various ſchemes propoſed, and attempted to be carried into effect, with a view of bettering the condition of the poor, have only increaſed the number without greatly diminiſhing the diſtreſſes of individuals.

"If

" If all could be completely relieved, and poverty baniſhed from the country, even at the expence of three-fourths of the fortunes of the rich, I would be the laſt to ſay a ſingle ſyllable againſt relieving all, and making the degree of diſtreſs alone the meaſure of our bounty. But as experience has proved, I believe without a ſingle exception, that poverty and miſery have always increaſed in proportion to the quantity of indiſcriminate charity; are we not bound to infer, reaſoning as we uſually do from the laws of nature, that it is an intimation, that ſuch a mode of diſtribution is not the proper office of benevolence.

" The laws of nature ſay, with St. Paul, ' If a man will not work, neither ſhall he eat.' They alſo ſay, that he is not raſhly to truſt to Providence. They appear indeed to be conſtant and uniform for the expreſs purpoſe of telling him what he is to truſt to, and that if he marry, without being able to ſupport a family, he muſt expect ſevere want. Theſe intimations appear from the conſtitution of human nature to be abſolutely neceſſary, and to have a ſtrikingly-beneficial tendency. If in the direction either of our public or our private charity, we ſay, that though a man will not work, yet he ſhall eat; and though he marry, without being able to ſupport a family, yet his family ſhall be ſupported; it is evident that we do not merely endeavour to mitigate ſome of the partial evils ariſing from general laws, but regularly and ſyſtematically to counteract the obviouſly beneficial effects of theſe general laws themſelves. And we cannot eaſily conceive that the Deity ſhould implant any paſſion in the human breaſt for ſuch a purpoſe."

In ſituations of unmerited calamity, and urgent diſtreſs ariſing from accidents, Mr. M. recommends inſtant and adequate relief; and in all doubtful caſes, he ſays it may be laid down as our duty to follow the natural impulſe of our benevolence.

From this Mr. M. proceeds to expoſe " the errors in different plans which have been propoſed to improve the condition of the poor:" and he lays it down as a fundamental maxim, that in any efforts which we may make to improve the condition of the lower claſſes of ſociety, we muſt not on any account do any thing which tends directly to encourage marriage, or to remove, in any regular and ſyſtematical manner, that inequality of circumſtances, which ought always to exiſt between the ſingle man, and the man with a family: hence he objects to Mr. Townſend's plan for benefit clubs, in which one regulation obliges unmarried men to pay a fourth of his wages, and a married man with four children not more than a thirtieth part. To a ſcheme alſo propoſed by Mr. Arthur Young he objects, as encouraging population even more than the preſent poor laws.

Having

Having thus refuted the errors of others, Mr. M. advances in the following chapter, a number of arguments, many of which are of conſiderable importance, to ſhow the neceſſity of following general principles on this ſubject. He objects to the inference which has ſometimes been drawn from ſolitary inſtances, that if all labourers were placed in a ſimilar ſituation, they would all be equally comfortable, and equally independent of the pariſh: becauſe it is the peculiarity of their ſituation that renders them comfortable; but if the ſyſtem were univerſal, the advantage which individuals reap from the profit ariſing from the ſale of trifling articles, as milk, &c. muſt be very much diminiſhed. The ſame reaſoning is applied to induſtry. A man who poſſeſſes a certain portion of it above what is uſually poſſeſſed by his neighbours, will, in the actual ſtate of things, be almoſt ſure of a competent livelihood: but if all his neighbours were to become at once as induſtrious as himſelf, the abſolute portion of induſtry which he before poſſeſſed would no longer be a ſecurity againſt want.

That the reader may not miſconceive the full drift of the Author's argument, that he may not impute to him principles which he does not hold, and which are not, and ought not to be inferred from his mode of reaſoning the following paſſage is given:

"But if I have been ſucceſsful in making the reader comprehend the principal bent of this work, he will be aware that the preciſe reaſon, why I think that more children ought not to be born than the country can ſupport, is, that the greateſt poſſible number of thoſe that are born may be ſupported. We cannot in the nature of things aſſiſt the poor, in any way, without enabling them to rear up to manhood a greater number of their children. But this is, of all other things the moſt deſirable, both with regard to individuals and the public. Every loſs of a child from the conſequences of poverty, muſt evidently be preceded and accompanied by great miſery to individuals; and in a public view, every child that dies under ten years of age, is a loſs to the nation of all that had been expended in its ſubſiſtence till that period. Conſequently, in every point of view, a decreaſe of mortality, at all ages, is what we ought to aim at. We cannot, however, effect this object without firſt crowding the population in ſome degree, by making more children grow up to manhood; but we ſhall do no harm, in this reſpect, if, at the ſame time, we can impreſs theſe children with the idea that to poſſeſs the ſame advantages as their parents, they muſt defer marriage till they have a fair proſpect of being able to maintain a family. And it muſt be candidly confeſſed, that, if we cannot do this, all our former efforts will have been thrown away. It is not in the nature of things, that any permanent and general im-

provement in the condition of the poor can be effected without an increaſe in the preventive check: and unleſs this take place, either with or without our efforts, every thing that is done for the poor muſt be temporary and partial: a diminution of mortality at preſent, will be balanced by an increaſe of mortality in future; and the improvement of their condition in one place, will proportionally depreſs it in another. This is a truth ſo important, and ſo little underſtood, that it can ſcarcely be too often inſiſted on. The generality of charitable people and of the encouragers of marriage, are not in the ſmalleſt degree aware of the real effects of what they do.

The concluding chapter of this work, is devoted to the conſideration of what are "our rational expectations, reſpecting the future improvement of ſociety," in which the author contends, as he has done again and again, not only for the neceſſity of perfect chaſtity during the period of celibacy, but alſo for the duty of extending this period till there is a clear proſpect of maintaining children. He thinks there is no doubt, that throughout Europe in general, and particularly in the northern ſtates, a decided change has taken place in the operation of this prudential reſtraint. And univerſally the practice of mankind on the ſubject of marriage, has been much ſuperior to their theories, and however frequent the exhortations may have been to enforce the duty of early unions, each individual has practically found it neceſſary to conſider the means of ſupporting a family before he ventured to take ſo important a ſtep. The deſire of bettering our condition, and the fear of making it worſe, have been conſtantly directing people into the right road, in ſpite of all declamations which tended to lead them aſide. Owing to this powerful ſpring of health in every ſtate, the prudential check to marriage has increaſed in Europe, and upon the increaſing operation of this principle, Mr. M. relies for the future melioration of the ſtate of ſociety. In the courſe of the laſt century it has improved, and he ſees no reaſon why it ſhould not continue to improve, and that the evils ariſing from the principle of population, ſhould not be continually decreaſing, as the nature of moral reſtraint is better underſtood, and its neceſſity fully comprehended by the lower claſſes of ſociety; hence the concluding paragraph of the volume muſt afford ſatisfaction to every friend to the moral improvement of the world:

"On the whole, therefore, though our future proſpects reſpecting the mitigation of the evils ariſing from the principle of population, may not be ſo bright as we could wiſh, yet they are far from being entirely diſheartening, and by no means preclude that gradual and progreſſive improvement in human ſociety, which, before the late wild ſpeculations on the ſubject, was the object of rational expectation. To the laws of property and marriage, and to the apparently narrow

narrow principle of ſelf-love, which prompts each individual to exert himſelf in bettering his condition, we are indebted for all the nobleſt exertions of human genius, for every thing that diſtinguiſhesthe civilized from the ſavage ſtate. A ſtrict inquiry into the principle of population leads us ſtrongly to the concluſion, that we ſhall never be able to throw down the ladder by which we have riſen to this eminence; but it by no means proves that we may not riſe higher by the ſame means. The ſtructure of ſociety, in its great features, will probably always remain unchanged. We have every reaſon to believe, that it will always conſiſt of a claſs of proprietors, and a claſs of labourers; but the condition of each, and the proportion which they bear to each other, may be ſo altered, as greatly to improve the harmony and beauty of the whole. It would, indeed, be a melancholy reflection, that, while the views of phyſical ſcience are daily enlarging, ſo as ſcarcely to be bounded by the moſt diſtant horizon, the ſcience of moral and political philoſophy ſhould be confined within ſuch narrow limits, or at beſt be ſo feeble in its influence, as to be unable to counteract the increaſing obſtacles to human happineſs ariſing from the progreſs of population. But however formidable theſe obſtacles may have appeared in ſome parts of this work, it is hoped that the general reſult of the inquiry is ſuch, as not to make us give up the cauſe of the improvement of human ſociety in deſpair. The partial good which ſeems to be attainable, is worthy of all our exertions; is ſufficient to direct our efforts and animate our proſpects. And although we cannot expect that the virtue and happineſs of mankind will keep pace with the brilliant career of phyſical diſcovery, yet if we are not wanting to ourſelves, we may confidently indulge the hope, that, to no unimportant extent they will be influenced by its progreſs, and will partake in its ſucceſs."

Such then is the view of Mr. Malthus's ſyſtem of population, of which, on account of the novelty of the reaſoning, we have thought it right to give a full account. The ſubject is important and deſerves ample inveſtigation; the author feels confident that his theory is founded on juſt principles, and invites fair and candid diſcuſſion:

"If," ſays he, "the principles which I have endeavoured to eſtabliſh be falſe, I moſt ſincerely hope to ſee them completely refuted, but if they be true, the ſubject is ſo important, and intereſts the queſtion of human happineſs ſo nearly, that it is impoſſible that they ſhould not in time be more fully known, and more generally circulated, whether any particular efforts be made for the purpoſe or not."

With the author we hope to ſee the ſyſtem fairly inveſtigated. He has thrown down the gauntlet; he has ſet at defiance, and treated with contempt, maxims that have for centuries been eſteemed as almoſt ſacred. In oppoſition to the command "Increaſe and multiply," which we have been led

led to think of high authority, and applicable to all ſtates and ages, Mr. M. ſays it is not enough to aboliſh all the poſitive inſtitutions which encourage population, but we muſt endeavour to correct prevailing opinions, which have the ſame, or perhaps even a more powerful effect. The honour which is uſually given to thoſe who have added many members to ſociety, is in the preſent ſtate of population, rather due to the childleſs. According to the "Eſſay," the union of the ſexes is to be an affair of cold calculation, and a numerous progeny to be deprecated, as adding to a population already overſtocked.

We have done our duty in ſtating the author's argument in a fair, and we hope a ſtriking point of view, but we truſt that his fears of an increaſing population are not well founded; and as ſuch we have, as we went on, given our opinion without heſitation. We are, at preſent, perhaps, unacquainted with the productive powers of the earth, and future diſcoveries in agriculture may render it equal to the ſupport of an indefinitely larger number of inhabitants than will come within our preſent calculation. Future knowledge and progreſſive virtue may ſet limits to luxury and the waſte of ſubſiſtence. And if means ſhould, hereafter, be deviſed, of rendering the earth more prolific to any great extent, then man who lives on its produce may be capable of creating the food neceſſary to his ſupport. At any rate, till more pains are taken in cultivating the earth, till leſs of its ſurface is left barren, till every exertion is made to extend its produce, we have but little reaſon, it ſhould ſeem, to check the increaſe of population by the means ſuggeſted by Mr. Malthus.

ART. XIII. *Reports of Caſes argued and determined in the High Court of Chancery, during the Time of Lord Chancellor Eldon: Vol. VII. containing from Eaſter Term to the Sittings after Trinity Term inclusive, 42 Geo. III.* By Francis Veſey, jun. Eſq. of Lincoln's Inn, Barriſter at Law. Royal 8vo. pp. 646, price 1*l.* 5*s.* bound. Brooke and Clarke. 1804.

WE think we cannot do a more complete act of juſtice to a very deſerving author, nor more clearly evince to our readers the deſire we feel of making this work the channel of intereſting publications in every department of ſcience, than by preſenting to the public a conciſe view of the 7th Volume of Mr. Veſey's Reports of Caſes in the High Court of Chancery, with ſuch remarks on the deſign and execution of the work as have occurred to us on the peruſal of it.

It will be almoſt unneceſſary to ſtate that Mr. Veſey has for nearly the laſt fourteen years devoted his attention to the

framing Reports of the Arguments and Adjudications that have taken place on Points and Cases of Importance, in the Court of Chancery, during that period; and that the produce of his well-directed labours, previously to the publication of the present volume, has been a Compendium of the Principles and Doctrines of Legal Equity established in that Court during part of the time that Lord Thurlow, and the whole of the time that Lord Loughborough (now the earl of Rosslyn) presided there, comprised in a work of no less extent than five volumes in folio.

There is also a sixth volume of the same size, beginning with the time of the present Chancellor.

Of this part of Mr. Vesey's Reports it is not our design, nor could it be brought within the compass of our work, to take notice further than to mention them as connected with the subject of our present observations, and to pay our tribute of respect to the great industry and unremitting perseverance of that gentleman, which, if they might in various instances have produced less elaborate details than those volumes sometimes furnish, and on which we shall observe presently, nevertheless justly demand for him the meed that belongs to a faithful and intelligent reporter.

The volume now before us commences in Easter Term, 42 Geo. III. 1802, and comprises a great number of points and cases (and amongst them several very important ones) that have been adjudged in the Court of Chancery by Lord Eldon, down to the end of the sittings after Michaelmas Term in that year; and to those who are interested in the learning on the subjects to which it relates, and who are acquainted with the profound and extensive erudition in that learning which distinguishes the noble Lord who now presides in Equity, it will be considered as a most valuable addition to those which have preceded it, not only as a repository of correct reasoning and accurate discrimination, but also as containing solemn adjudications on questions, some of which have been left in doubt by preceding judges—some that have never before arisen—and others that, notwithstanding the learning, diligence, and wisdom of those to whom they were previously submitted, are considered and shown to have been decided on erroneous principles, or on principles, correct indeed in themselves, but misunderstood or misapplied.

From the nature of the work before us, it cannot be expected that we should even attempt to give an account of its contents, but we think it may not be wholly unuseful to select two or three of the cases that strike us as being the most extensively important, not only for the purpose of presenting our readers

with a ſhort ſummary of the principal points in the cauſe, and of the determination of the court thereon, but alſo with a view of introducing thoſe remarks to which we have alluded, and which we think the faults, as well as the merits of the work, demand.

In the caſe of Bromley *v.* Holland, reported p. 3, and which was heard before the preſent Chancellor, on an Appeal from the decree pronounced therein by the preſent Lord Alvanley, then Sir Pepper Arden, Maſter of the Rolls, three queſtions (amongſt others) aroſe: 1ſt. As to the Juriſdiction of a Court of Equity to order Deeds of Grant of Annuity to be delivered up in caſes other than the four caſes ſpecified in the Statute 17 Geo. III. chap. 26, ſect. 4. 2d. As to the time from which an Account ſhould be directed of the Conſideration paid by the Grantee of an Annuity, that is ſet aſide for non-compliance with the Terms of the Act. 3d. As to the Principle on which the Court grants Relief in ſuch Caſes, whether on the Ground of Redemption, or on the Ground of the Invalidity of the Grant.

Upon the firſt of theſe queſtions it appears that Lord Eldon decided, that the court has ſuch juriſdiction expreſsly on the ground of previous deciſions to that effect by Lord Roſslyn, and thoſe deciſions adopted and applied in other caſes by Lord Alvanley; obſerving, at the ſame time, that even if the queſtion had been *res integra*, notwithſtanding the doubts he might have, the inclination of his opinion would be that the court would have that juriſdiction.

On the ſecond queſtion, an account was directed of the conſideration paid by the grantee of the annuity, with intereſt at five per cent. and of all the payments of the annuity to the grantee, or any perſon claiming under him, by aſſignment or otherwiſe, to be applied in diſcharge of the intereſt and principal of the conſideration, the decree at the Rolls having given credit to the grantor of the annuity for ſuch payment only as had been made by him on account of the annuity ſince the filing of the bill.

And on the third queſtion, it appears that the relief granted was founded on the invalidity of the grant, and not on the ground of redemption (which was the ground taken by Lord Alvanley in his deciſion) and conſequently that ſuch caſe is to be conſidered as a caſe in which there never was an annuity to be redeemed. And from a MS. note of this judgment, which we have ſeen, his Lordſhip appears to have ſaid that the conſideration, that the deed, under the circumſtances, and under the act, was *ab initio* void, formed the principle on which he differed from the Maſter of the Rolls.

The

The Report of the Judgment of the Master of the Rolls in this case, is to be found in the fifth volume of Mr. Vesey's Reports, page 610, *et seq.*

The case of Moggridge *v.* Thackwell, reported p. 36, (or at least so much of that case as related to the charity) came on upon a re-hearing, and the case seems to have stood very much upon the independent circumstances that gave rise to it, and the expression in the will containing the charitable bequest; the testatrix having thereby given the residue of her personal estate to A. B. his executors, &c. desiring him to dispose of the same in such charities as he should think fit, recommending poor clergymen who have large families and good characters. A. B. dying in the life time of the testatrix, and she knowing that fact.

On this two questions seem to have arisen, the second certainly a subordinate one: 1. Whether in the event of the death of A. B. which had happened, there was a lapse of the bequest for the next of kin, or whether it devolved to the crown, as the general guardian of all charities? 2. Whether, in case it devolved to the crown, the disposition was to be in the court by a scheme, or in the crown by sign manual, without any form?

It appears that Lord Thurlow, before whom the cause was originally heard, declared by his decree that the residue of the testatrix's personal estate passed by her will, and ought to go and be applied in charity, regard being had to poor clergymen with good characters and large families, according to the recommendation in the will, and that the master should approve of a scheme to effectuate the purposes of the said charity.

The question involved in the cause appears to have been considered as of great importance, insomuch that Lord Rosslyn, before whom it afterwards came for further directions, is said to have intimated that it was fit the cause should be re-heard; and upon the re-hearing, in consequence of that intimation, the present Lord Chancellor not only gave a very elaborate judgment, and entered fully into the consideration of the principles and cases that bore upon the question, but expressed very great difficulty in forming the decision.

The decree of Lord Thurlow, however, was established, which gives a decided negative to the first question.

As to the second question, the words of the Lord Chancellor, according to Mr. Vesey, are as follow: "The general principle thought most reconcileable to the cases is, that where there is a general indefinite purpose, not fixing itself upon any object, as this in a decree does, the disposition is in the

king by ſign manual: but where the execution is to be by a truſtee with general or ſome objects pointed out, there the court will take the adminiſtration of the truſt."

This deciſion may be therefore preſumed to have put to reſt a queſtion which appears, by the caſes cited in the report, to have agitated much doubt in the minds of thoſe from time to time engaged in the diſcuſſion, and which had too from time to time been left in a very unſettled ſtate.

The caſe of Ripley v. Waterworth, reported p. 425, the laſt caſe we ſhall ſelect on this occaſion, contains a deciſion which the Lord Chancellor conſidered to be of much difficulty and importance.

It came on before the Lord Chancellor, upon exceptions to the Maſter's Report, and the main point is as follows: What is to become of the property in a leaſehold eſtate for lives originally granted to a man, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, beyond the point of payment of his debts? This neceſſarily involved the queſtion, whether an executor could in any and what manner take as ſpecial occupant.

Both in the arguments and the judgment of the court in this caſe, the preceding caſes are much agitated, and the doctrines contained in ſome of them on this head, ſeem to be directly contradictory to each other, vide 2 Roll. Ab. 251. G. pl. 2. and 2 Roll. Ab. 251. G. pl. 3; the reſult however is, that the queſtion has received a clear deciſion, by which it is now ſettled, that the intereſt in an eſtate pur auter vie to a man, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, beyond the debts, ſhould be conſidered as perſonal eſtate that the executor is equally capable with the heir at law, to take as ſpecial occupant, and that ſo taking, he is in equity to be held a truſtee for thoſe to whom the perſonal eſtate would belong.

The principle on which this deciſion reſts, is clearly ſtated in a note to the caſe of Duke of Devon. v. Atkins, 2 P. Wms 381, mentioned by the Lord Chancellor in his judgment, and which appears to be, that if the executor or adminiſtrator take as ſpecial occupant, the effect of his character as executor or adminiſtrator ſhould fix upon his legal title, as ſuch, an equity for thoſe who claim the perſonal eſtate to make him a truſtee. The executor however, like the heir, taking, not as executor, but as a ſpecial occupant named in the grant.

Having thus ſhortly ſtated theſe caſes as ſpecimens of the importance of the ſubjects in the volume before us, we have on this head only further to obſerve, that it contains reports of many other caſes, involving in them queſtions of ſcarcely leſs moment than thoſe already mentioned, and eliciting in the

the diſcuſſion and adjudication of them, profound legal reſearch and admirable diſquiſitions on the doctrines of legal equity: it remains now to ſay a word or two on the qualifications of Mr. Veſey, as a reporter, as they appear in the work under conſideration.

It muſt be clear to every man, to ſpeak in the words of Mr. Douglas now Lord Glenbervie, that there is no ſpecies of publication which demands a more ſcrupulous accuracy than thoſe hiſtories of judicial proceedings and deciſions, to which the name of REPORTS has been long appropriated; at the ſame time it muſt be alſo equally clear, that the judgment of a reporter cannot be more beneficially exerciſed for his readers and himſelf, than in forming a juſt diſcrimination between the ſubjects that really are, and thoſe that only appear to be, worthy of a ſcrupulous accuracy.

It is impoſſible for any perſon, converſant with the Court of Chancery, to read the reports of Mr. Veſey and not to find in them that ſcrupulous accuracy mentioned by the learned and noble author juſt named; nor is it eaſy for language to be uſed better calculated by its ſimplicity and clearneſs to convey the opinions of others, than that which in general marks the ſtyle of the reports; and when to theſe is added an uniform air of diligence and of anxiety to do juſtice to the arguments urged at the bar, and the decrees delivered from the bench, Mr. Veſey muſt ever appear entitled to the thanks of the profeſſion and the approbation of the public

But the impartiality which we think juſtifies our ſaying thus much, compels us alſo to give it as our opinion, that in the deſire to be accurate Mr. V. appears frequently to have forgotten the diſcrimination above mentioned, and has loaded his reports with much unneceſſary detail. As the three caſes to which we have adverted are examples of the importance, ſo they are likewiſe of the manner of reporting many other caſes, and in all theſe it will be found, that if thoſe topics which are naturally introduced more or leſs by every public ſpeaker for illuſtration, and for the ſake of argument, and which Mr. V. has ſuffered to remain, were taken from each report, both in the arguments and the judgments, theſe bulky tomes would be reduced to a ſize, which, though it might at firſt ſight ſurprize Mr. Veſey, would not, we apprehend, diminiſh by any means the utility of the work, or detract from the reputation of the reporter.

We are not, we confeſs, amongſt thoſe who would reduce a report to a mere note of the point decided; we think it ſhould contain, when neceſſary, a clear ſtatement of the caſe, and always a fair ſynopſis of the arguments at the bar, and the

the judgment of the court; but that nothing ſhould be admitted that does not immediately bear upon the point in queſtion, however neceſſary and indeed unavoidable it might be for the ſpeaker while delivering his ſentiments to advert to multifarious views of it. To ſelect inſtances in a work of this nature, would be difficult, and muſt be unneceſſary, ſince we are perſuaded Mr. Veſey is not ignorant that we do not ſtand alone in this opinion: and indeed if any evidence were wanting of its correctneſs, extrinſic from the work itſelf, we might adduce in ſupport of it the reports of ſome of the moſt eminent men that ever appeared in the courts of this or any other country. Lord Coke, Lord Raymond, Vernon, Peere Williams, and others, of every one of whom this obſervation may be made, that although their reports reſpectively embrace more than double the ſpace of time that Mr. Veſey has hitherto occupied, the number of their volumes or pages have not extended to one third of thoſe of Mr. Veſey. We acknowledge, that on ſome occaſions, particularly in Vernon, the reports are ſhort, obſcure, and unſatisfactory; we recommend, and ſtrongly recommend, the medium to Mr. Veſey.

It is but fair, however, to remark that Mr. Veſey has a difficulty to ſurmount, almoſt peculiar to him from his predeceſſors. The preſent Lord Chancellor is, as we have before obſerved, highly diſtinguiſhed not only for his deep and extenſive learning in the doctrines of equity and the law of real property, but for a mind which in its capacity to illuſtrate, inveſtigate, and analyze, the ſubjects that are preſented to its contemplation, is unexampled: to ſuch a mind, ingenious hypotheſes, nice, yet accurate diſtinctions, imaginary caſes, and novel, yet correct, applications of principle, rapidly and numerouſly ſuggeſt themſelves, and conciſeneſs becomes an impoſſibility, ſuch a diſpoſition (and ſometimes too it is to be lamented unaccompanied by his lordſhip's powers) is apt to pervade the advocates who addreſs him, and theſe nice, and, perhaps, in other reſpects, valuable eccentricities, are frequently ſo interwoven with the real argument that alone belongs to the caſe, that it muſt doubtleſs require no ſmall portion of intellect and deciſion to ſeparate them, and preſent to the reader a conciſe and lucid ſtatement of the material parts of the cauſe.

Juſtice, alſo, to Mr. Veſey, calls upon us further to obſerve, that there are caſes free from this defect, where the judgment has been given by the Lord Chancellor, and that may be cited as examples of a neat and judicious report, and alſo, that in the inſtances of any importance before the Maſter of the Rolls, he has been almoſt uniformly ſucceſsful: we have noticed amongſt

amongſt the former, the caſe of Webb v. The Earl of Shafteſbury, p. 480, and amongſt the latter, the caſe of Cary v. Abbot, p. 490.

The alteration in the ſize and price of the book meets with our hearty concurrence; the enormous price of Law Books renders the purchaſe of them alone, independently of the other great expenſes attending the ſtudy of the Law, a conſideration of ſuch importance, as to exclude all but the moſt opulent from the privilege of purſuing it.

We conclude with repeating our opinion, that, on the whole, the work is a valuable addition to the learning of the Court of Chancery; and with expreſſing our wiſh that Mr. Veſey may continue to meet with the encouragement to which his labours decidedly entitle him.

ART. XIV. *Quatuor Monumenta ænea è terrâ in Sueciâ eruta, tabulis æreis et brevi commentatione illuſtrata: ab J. Hallenberg. Acceſſere nonnulla de litteraturâ cuſicâ.* Stockholmiæ; 8vo. pp. 71. 1802.

THE monuments treated of in this diſſertation were diſcovered at a ſmall depth below the ſurface, in a plain called *Tullinge*, about two leagues from Stockholm. The firſt is a ſpiral bracelet of bronze, an imitation no doubt of the bracelet, in the form of a ſerpent. The author has collected on this occaſion, ſeveral paſſages from the ancients reſpecting this kind of ornament. The other monuments are braſs celts, like thoſe that have been frequently found in different parts of France and Great Britain. Some of theſe celts have a cavity on the top, whence it has been inferred that, like Hudibras's ſword, they ſerved more purpoſes than one: ſo that after being uſed in the common occupations of life, as wedges, chiſels, and hatchets; they might, when neceſſity required it, be converted into javelins. The inſtruments deſcribed by M. H. differ from any that have been hitherto found, in having a conical cap or lid, ornamented by a few circles, adapted to the cavity. He contends from this, that the nature of theſe inſtruments has been generally miſunderſtood: and that they are what the ancients have called *vaſa futilia*, or ſuch as would ſpill their contents when ſet down on a table. He ſuppoſes that they were originally depoſited in a cheſt, which has been deſtroyed by time: and the decompoſition of which has generated the *humus*, or black earth which ſurrounded them. The author next inquires into the cauſe of their being depoſited in this place, and concludes that

that they were offerings made by voyagers to the deities of Samothrace: and that the number two bears a particular relation to that worſhip. This leads to a diſcuſſion concerning odd and even numbers. He is likewiſe of opinion, that the ſerpent on the bracelet favours theſe conjectures. To this diſſertation are added a few remarks on the etymology of the word *Cabira*.

The author ſupports his hypotheſis with much learning and ingenuity, notwithſtanding which, the number of theſe celts found in various parts of the north known to the ancients, and their ſtriking reſemblance to each other, ſeem to favour the ſuppoſition that they were uſed, not only as arms, but alſo for domeſtic purpoſes. The lid might be intended for the preſervation of the cavity, when the weapon was not fixed on a ſhaft: or the cavity itſelf might fulfil the office of a veſſel containing greaſe, deſigned to facilitate its penetration through hard and reſiſting ſubſtances. On relics like theſe, concerning which no information is to be derived from any ancient writer, we muſt be ſatisfied with conjecture till all difficulties are removed by future diſcoveries. The peculiarity of the lid is a curious fact, and muſt be conſidered as a valuable addition to our former knowledge on the ſubject.

M. H. is profoundly verſed in oriental languages. We had occaſion ſome time ago, to notice his diſſertation on the *name of God*, in different languages. The difficulties which obſtruct our communication with Sweden leave us in ignorance of his literary performances ſince that publication. We can only collect from the preſent eſſay, that he has printed a collection of cufic medals. *Collectio Nummorum Cuficorum.* Stockholmiæ, 1800. He mentions ſome remarks on this work imparted by M. Tychſen. An explanation of ſome Cufic coins is annexed to the preſent work. One is a coin of Almoſtaner Billah, ſtruck between 1226 and 1242. His portrait appears upon it much in the ſame manner as thoſe of Princes on the coins of the Lower Empire. We know what indignation Muſſulmans feel on viewing ſimilar repreſentations; and no ſatisfactory reaſon has been aſſigned why they exiſt upon their coins. The ſecond coin preſents an inſcription in the uſual form, with a difference merely in the arrangement of the words. The remaining pieces conſiſt of a coin, and fragments of a few others, found in Finland. The coin that is perfect appears to have been ſtruck at Samarkand in 915. The fragments ſeem to have iſſued from the ſame mint.

We learn from this diſſertation, that M. Tychſen is engaged in an inveſtigation of the ancient Spaniſh alphabet. The

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Bibliotheque Nationale poſſeſſes many pieces written in that ancient character, which might be of conſiderable ſervice in ſuch an inveſtigation.

M. H. informs alſo that M. Malſtroem, librarian to the king of Sweden, is employed on the Cufic medals in the king's cabinet. It is earneſtly to be wiſhed, that the reſult of his inquiries may be ſoon laid before the public.

Magazin Encyclopedique.

ART. XV. *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes, ou Hiſtoire des trois Manuces et de leurs éditions; par Antoine-Auguſtin Renouard.* Paris; An XI. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1803.

FEW ſcholars need be told that Aldus the elder, and his ſon Paulus Manutius, are entitled to the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank in an art ſo important as that of printing; that to them we are indebted for the publication of a multitude of the works of the ancients, and particularly for rendering their circulation more general, and their acquiſition leſs expenſive: that their learned vigils were devoted to the perfection of their eſtimable impreſſions; or that they were favoured with the aſſiſtance of the moſt eminent ſcholars of the age. A deſcription of their labours, forms, therefore, an intereſting portion of the Hiſtory of Literature, and has not been ſuperſeded by any former treatiſe on the ſubject. It requires, indeed, an aſſemblage of qualifications that are rarely united in the ſame individual. No perſon ſhould indulge an expectation of ſucceeding in it who is not at once a man of letters, a bibliographer, and a printer. M. Renouard is one of the favoured few; and we have no doubt that his work will meet with general approbation.

The ſecond volume, which ought perhaps to have been the firſt, contains lives of the three Manutii: *viz.* Aldus, the founder of the celebrated Aldine preſs; Paul Manutius; and Aldus Manutius the younger, who was the laſt of the family. Theſe memoirs embrace a period which commences in 1466, and ends in 1597. They compriſe a number of curious particulars relating to literary hiſtory, and many excellent remarks on the typographic art. To this volume is annexed a ſeries of proofs and illuſtrations, which are extremely ſcarce and curious: ſuch as the different privileges granted to the elder Aldus, by the Senate of Venice and the Popes: a catalogue of his publications drawn up by himſelf: a catalogue of the valuable editions of Andréa d'Aſola, his father-in-law: another of the works ſold at Paris by Bernard, Turriſan, and Colombel,

Colombel, who decorated their books with the celebrated ſymbol of the Aldine preſs: and a liſt of counterfeit impreſſions. We are concerned to perceive what uneaſineſs the piratical bookſellers of Lyons cauſed to this indefatigable man, by copying and often defacing impreſſions which coſt him much time, much money, and great anxiety. We take an intereſt in the peruſal of the advertiſements he circulated concerning the ſpurious copies.

The firſt volume contains a complete enumeration of the Aldine editions in chronological order, forming the genuine annals of their preſs. Each edition is minutely deſcribed, M. Renouard having collected, before he proceeded to the execution of his deſign, all the editions that were to be procured. A few only were wanting to complete his ſeries, and thoſe he has been enabled to conſult, either by the liberality of his friends or the aid of public libraries. Indeed we can readily credit his aſſertion, and the work affords convincing proof of its veracity, that the deſcriptions were formed on an actual inſpection of the originals. Many curious remarks are introduced occaſionally on the value of editions, and the labours beſtowed on the claſſics, with a variety of literary anecdotes. On comparing theſe with the deſcriptions of Nuger, Zeno, Manni, Lazzeri, Maittaire, and Tiraboſchi, we are ſatisfied that little dependence is to be placed on the fidelity of theſe writers; and that the preſent work will not ſuffer by a compariſon with any former publication.

Beſides the chronological catalogue, M. Renouard preſents us with an account of the Aldine editions, arranged according to the ſubjects.

A few prints are inſerted that were neceſſary in order to complete the hiſtory of the Aldi: *viz.* the portraits of Aldus the elder, and of Paul Manutius, engraved by the maſterly *burin* of M. Saint-Aubin, from originals of undoubted authenticity: that of Aldus the younger, in wood by M. Beugnet: and exact copies by the ſame artiſt of the five different marks which adorn and characteriſe the works which iſſued from the Aldine preſs. We are enabled by theſe to trace the progreſſive change of their ſymbol from the moſt ſimple form firſt employed by the elder Aldus, to that ſurmounted by an eagle in the eſcutcheon granted to Paul by the Emperor Maximilian.

In the courſe of his work, M. Renouard juſtly complains of the preſent ſtate of typography, of the ſplendid form in which many works have been reprinted, and of the extreme negligence with which others are executed, that are intended for general circulation; of the employment of unſized paper, or of vellum paper, that is deficient both in ſubſtance and in tenacity. He has himſelf furniſhed an example of what he recommends.

His

His book is not printed in an oſtentatious manner, yet the paper is firm and of a good colour, the impreſſion clean, and the text judiciouſly diſtributed. It is a model that we recommend to printers in general. *Magazin Encyclopedique.*

ART. XVI. *The Duty of Defending our Country; a Sermon preached at the Cathedral Church of St. Peter, Exeter, on the 19th of Auguſt*, 1803. *By the Rev. Edward Drewe, LL.B. Chaplain to the Right Hon. Lord Rolle, and Curate of Broadhembury, Devon.* pp. 39. pr. 1*s.* Cadell and Davies.

WHETHER the ſpirit of patriotiſm be inculcated in the New Teſtament has long been a ſubject of diſpute. Lord Shafteſbury, and others, have ſcoffed at a code of religion that aſſumes to itſelf perfection, and yet omits to enforce a duty in which the intereſts of ſociety are ſo much concerned: while Soame Jenyns, and many real and ſincere believers, have thought the love of one's country a topic too mean to make part of a ſyſtem deſcended from heaven. There are, however, Chriſtians who ſee in the Founder of our Faith an example of true patriotiſm, and in his conduct a love for his native land, which it behoves all his followers to cheriſh: among theſe is Mr. Drewe, in common with a great number of preachers in and out of the eſtabliſhed church.

In times of leſs importance the diſcuſſion would excite no great intereſt; and ſituated as we now are, with an enemy almoſt at our gates, we rejoice that theory gives way to practical energy; we rejoice that the ſpirit diffuſed through the Sermon before us pervades every breaſt, and animates the hearts of all our countrymen; that all party diſputes are at an end, and that the only queſtion is, who ſhall be moſt loyal, moſt ſteady in oppoſing the enemy, moſt zealous in ſupporting the liberties and independence of the United Kingdom! We have ſelected Mr. Drewe's patriotic diſcourſe from many others equally entitled to reſpect and eſteem, becauſe it was one of the earlieſt on the occaſion; becauſe it has been very generally circulated; and, above all, becauſe it is a compoſition calculated to leave on the mind of the reader forcible and abiding impreſſions.

ART. XVII. *Illuſtrations of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion. By E. Maltby, B. D. Domeſtic Chaplain to the Lord Biſhop of Lincoln. The Second Edition, reviſed.* Cambridge Univerſity Preſs; pp. 395. price 7*s.* 6*d.* boards. 1803.

HAPPY would it be for the moral and religious part of the world, if the ſeveral excellent ethical and theological performances, which ſo often make their appearance, were attended with proportionable improvement and increaſe of

of faith and practice; that the moraliſt and divine might not have reaſon to complain, that their learned labours have not been attended with their deſired effects.

However, as we have the ſtrongeſt grounds on which to reſt not only our hopes, but our perſuaſions, that no effort of this or of any other kind, in the ſacred cauſe of virtue and religion is wholly loſt; motives will never be wanting to excite the ardour and ſtimulate the induſtry of the zealous advocates for both, to undertake and perſevere in the great and laudable deſign of illuſtrating their evidence, and enforcing their practice, by delineating their true nature, and ſhowing their infinite importance.

The work now before us, is of this nature, and profeſſes this great deſign: and in this view it ſhould be conſidered as a valuable addition to others of a like nature and tendency; among which the writings of Archdeacon Paley juſtly claim and hold a very high and diſtinguiſhed rank.

Although the ſubject of theſe illuſtrations has often been treated by various learned and pious authors, yet it is ſo rich in materials, ſo pregnant with matter, and, though plain and ſimple, yet ſo copious and diverſified; though grand in its general deſign, yet ſo minutely conſiſtent in all its parts, that, after all the various and indefatigable labours of theologiſts and critics, ſufficient remains, and will for ever remain till the great plan of Chriſtianity be accompliſhed, to employ the attention and pens of the learned. For this great ſubject, like its importance, which is infinite, contains thoſe ſtores which neither time nor the induſtry of man ſhall ever be able to exhauſt.

Theſe conſiderations ſhould excite the zeal, and quicken the induſtry, of thoſe whoſe ſtations, learning, and mental abilities, qualify them for the important and laudable taſk of exhibiting Chriſtianity in all its native colours of divine excellence; and of diſplaying and illuſtrating thoſe evidences by which it is ſupported; in proof of that high authority, and thoſe pre-eminent claims to our belief and practice, which it arrogates and aſſerts.

The learned and ingenious author of the "Illuſtrations," ſeems fully apprized of theſe things; and deeply impreſſed with a juſt ſenſe of their importance. He therefore (as he informs us in his preface) has applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to the ſtudy of the Books of the New Teſtament: "during a very attentive peruſal of which he was occaſionally ſtruck with internal marks of truth; ſome of which ſo far as his recollection went, had not been obſerved at all, and others did not appear to have been noticed, according to their

their real importance, by any writers who had fallen in his way." With what ſucceſs the author has ſupplied what he found deficient in others, as well as what new light he has thrown upon thoſe parts of the ſubject which had before been treated by others, the public will judge by an impartial examination of the merits of the preſent work; the contents of which are as follow——CHAP. I. On the Internal Evidence of Genuineneſs and Authenticity in the Books of the New Teſtament.—II. On the Proof ariſing from the Nature and Strength of the Prejudices of the Jews.—III. On the Conduct of the Diſciples.—IV. On the Miracles wrought by the Diſciples during the Life of our Lord.—V. On the Scheme of the Goſpel.—VI. On the Character of Jeſus.—VII. Mr. Godwin's Miſrepreſentations of the Chriſtian Religion, and the Character of its Founder, examined.—VIII. View of the Defects of the Evidence in favour of the Mahomedan Religion. To which are annexed, two Latin diſcourſes; the one, a Theſis on the Inſufficiency of human Reaſon to diſcover the true Worſhip of God, the duties of Man, and a future State. The other Concio ad Clerum: being a critical Examination of the Story of Jephtha and of his Vow. The former was delivered in the Divinity School, and the latter in St. Mary's Church, at Cambridge, previouſly to the author taking his Degree of Bachelor of Divinity. The reaſon aſſigned for their joint publication is, that they are perfectly conſonant to the matter and deſign of the illuſtrations themſelves.

It is difficult to give a correct idea of the contents of this valuable volume, without going very much into detail, but as each chapter contains a diſtinct and independent proof of the truth of Chriſtianity, and as it would be impoſſible to give a regular analyſis of them all, it will be ſufficient if we ſelect two or three, from the conſideration of which we ſhall have an opportunity of doing juſtice to the talents of the author, and of giving the reader an idea of what he may anticipate from the other chapters, of which we can take no notice.

In treating of the internal evidence of the genuineneſs and authenticity in the books of the New Teſtament, our author adopts the ſame mode of reaſoning as he would in trying the compoſitions of any profane author. And after obſerving that no books whatſoever have been quoted ſo frequently, or by ſuch an uninterrupted ſeries of ſucceſſive authors, ſince their firſt appearance, and that there are not extant ſo many manuſcripts, or of ſo great antiquity, of the works of any other writer, as of the different books of the New Teſtament, he obſerves 1, That the ſtyle and language of theſe books ſupply ſtrong indications that they were written about the

time, and by the ſort of men to which they are aſcribed: the ſtyle is different from that which is uſed by the claſſical writers; it is conformable to the opinions and practices of the inhabitants of Judæa; many of the Greek words found in the New Teſtament are not ſuch as were adopted by men of education, but ſuch as were in uſe with common people, among whom, it is plainly intimated, the writers of this volume were. From which Mr. M. draws this inference, that the books of the New Teſtament were written near the time to which they are attributed, and by perſons ſimilarly ſituated in religion, language, and condition, to thoſe whoſe works they are aſſerted to be. 2, Minuteneſs of detail is another mark of truth: not only the time and place of many tranſactions are deſcribed, but the names of individuals are particularly mentioned, when the writers do not affect preciſion, which is never the practice of impoſtors. 3, They are not infected with the ſlighteſt tincture of party ſpirit. 4, The writers candidly relate their own errors and failings. 5, The agreement of the facts with the ſuppoſition of a miraculous interference. 6, Another mark of truth diſcernible in the writings of the ſacred hiſtorians is the exact preſervation of character. On this ſubject we ſhall quote a paſſage from our author:

"It is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive a wider compaſs of ſubject, and conſequently one more unfavourable to the genius of fiction, than what is comprehended in the hiſtorical writings of the New Teſtament. Not only are Jews introduced of various ranks and ages, from the chiefs of the Sanhedrim, the expounders of the law, and the leaders of the ſects, to the humble fiſhermen, the companions of Jeſus,---and even to characters ſtill lower, thoſe whom the contagion of diſeaſe, or the ſcandal of their vices, had driven from the comforts of ſocial life; but we alſo hear the diſcourſes, and obſerve the actions, of heathens, widely differing from each other in the qualities of their hearts, in the endowments of the mind, in condition and in occupation. Nor is the ſcene confined to a ſingle nation or country, but we are tranſported from Jeruſalem to Athens, from the reſidence of thoſe who cultivated no other knowledge than that of their own law and traditions, to the centre of heathen learning and taſte, and of heathen ſuperſtition too and idolatry. From Athens, and from Corinth, and from Epheſus, the ſeats of every improvement in the arts of civilized life, we are conveyed to the rude and uncivilized barbarians on the ſhores of Melita. By ſea and by land we accompany the adventurous voyagers,---amidſt ſcenes, in which they appear to the aſtoniſhed ſpectators as gods deſcended from heaven; or when they ſeem to the deluded multitude as the fanatic enemies of religion; ſtill, in the characters of the chief actors, we obſerve a conſiſtency and identity which atteſts the reality of the repreſentation; while thoſe with whom they converſe, and who are introduced but incidentally, bear the traces of that

national and individual reſemblance which the records of hiſtory have invariably aſſigned them."

The grand exemplification of theſe remarks is, however, to be found in the character of Chriſt and his apoſtles; in their actions and diſcourſes, and in the account that they have given of the Roman officers, connected with the tranſactions deſcribed by the Evangeliſts. The whole of this paſſage is ſo well and ſo ably illuſtrated that we wiſh the unbeliever to conſider the ſtatement fairly and candidly before he deſcribes the Chriſtian religion as a cunningly-deviſed fable. 7, The next argument adduced in proof of the internal evidence is that which ariſes from a compariſon of the genuine ſcriptures with the apocryphal books. It appears that the early Chriſtians inveſtigated, with the greateſt caution, the claims of thoſe writings which aſpired to a place in the ſacred canon, before they admitted them; from which Mr. M. concludes that we are warranted in affixing the title of genuine to the narratives of the evangeliſts, and the epiſtles of St. Paul, with at leaſt the ſame degree of juſtice with which it is readily allowed to the hiſtories of Thucydides, Xenophon, and Cæſar, and to the letters of Cicero and Pliny. The genuineneſs of the books of the New Teſtament will, however, be more apparent if their internal evidence be compared with that of the ſpurious goſpels and epiſtles; ſince in the latter there is the appearance of a deſign to ſupport ſome doctrine or practice, or to obviate ſome hereſy; a detail of impertinent circumſtances; the introduction of uſeleſs and improbable miracles; a ſtudied imitation of various paſſages in the genuine Scriptures; a poverty of ſtyle, and barrenneſs of invention; contradictions to known hiſtorical facts; an officious intruſion of the pretended authors names; and actions aſcribed to Jeſus which are unworthy of his character. Having examined theſe topics at large, and brought forward a maſs of unqueſtionable evidence in proof of his argument, Mr. M. concludes this chapter with the following obſervations:

"Such are the compoſitions which attempted to gain credit as the real productions of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts; and ſo ſtriking is the contraſt between *them* and the genuine writings, whoſe ſtyle they have ſo unſucceſsfully endeavoured to imitate. It deſerves the moſt ſerious conſideration of every one who is unhappily prejudiced againſt Chriſtianity, or (what is almoſt as fatal) who has hitherto not thought the ſubject worthy his attention, whether, if the canonical books of the New Teſtament had been the productions of artifice or deluſion, they would not have reſembled thoſe which are avowedly ſo, in ſome of their defects. Suppoſing it, for a moment, to be a matter of doubt by whom the canonical books were written, or allowing them the credit which is granted to all other

writings having the ſame external authority, that of being written by the authors whoſe names they have always borne; upon either of theſe ſuppoſitions the writers of the New Teſtament could not, either in ſituation or attainments, have had any advantages, humanly ſpeaking, which the authors of the apocryphal books were not as likely to have poſſeſſed as themſelves: conſequently, if the firſt books had been founded upon the baſis of fiction, it is ſurely moſt probable that ſubſequent attempts would have equalled, if not improved upon, the firſt efforts of impoſture. If, however, it appears, upon a candid and cloſe inveſtigation, that one ſet of compoſitions betrays no ſymptoms of a deſign to impoſe upon others, and no marks that the authors were themſelves deceived; while, on the contrary, the others diſcover in every page the moſt evident proofs of miſtake and fraud; is it fair, is it reaſonable, to aſcribe to a common origin productions ſo palpably and eſſentially different? or rather, is it not more juſt, and even philoſophical, to reſpect truth in thoſe performances which bear the fair ſtamp of her features; and to abandon thoſe, and thoſe only, to contempt which have indubitable traces of impoſture?"

The next part of this volume which we ſhall notice is the proof of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, which reſults from the moral character of our bleſſed Lord. In this chapter Mr. Maltby appeals firſt to the teſtimony of writers friendly to the Chriſtian cauſe, from the authors of the Goſpels, to thoſe who have flouriſhed in our own day: nor does he think that any ſolid objection can be made to their teſtimony unleſs it ſhould be found that there are ſymptoms of incapacity, of prejudice, and unfairneſs in their inveſtigations. Nor will he admit the vulgar and hackneyed argument, that the defence of prieſts is to be taken with caution, as that of perſons intereſted in the ſucceſs of Chriſtianity; ſince their mere wiſh to ſerve a particular cauſe would not enable them to eſtabliſh a poſition which muſt look for ſupport to a ſeries of hiſtorical teſtimony; it would not enable them to wreſt facts to their purpoſes which are inſcribed in the unvarying records of paſt ages. On this ſubject he alſo adds,

"That not merely prieſts of an eſtabliſhed church, whoſe ſituation ſometimes leads to wealth and conſequence, but prieſts of every ſect---prieſts who have nothing to expect but oppoſition, if they are known, or poverty, if they are not known---nay, prieſts who have altogether abandoned their profeſſion---men, in ſhort, of the moſt diſcordant views and hoſtile ſentiments, have ſtill ſupported with uniform conviction, and maintained with unvarying ardour, the truth of the Chriſtian diſpenſation. In this latter deſcription of writers we may remark the names of Prieſtley, Wakefield, and Evanſon; of men, who, differing from each other as much as they diſſent from the National Church, yet, upon the ſame general grounds of hiſtorical truth, admit the divine origin of Chriſtianity. Nor muſt we

we fail to reply, if the objection ſhould ſtill be urged pertinaciouſly, that laymen of the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities and enlarged views have in all ages vied with churchmen in the pious and uſeful labour of fixing, upon the ſolid baſis of reaſon and of truth, the credibility of the Goſpel hiſtory."

Our author next refers to the opinions reſpecting Chriſt, as maintained by thoſe who are inimical to the Chriſtian religion. Vaninus, one of the moſt zealous champions on this ſide of the queſtion, acknowledged, "that in the whole ſeries of the hiſtory and actions of our Saviour, he could not find any thing that he could charge with ſecular intereſt or deſign, to blaſt him or his religion with." Mr. Chubb admitted that "the life of Chriſt was a beautiful picture of human nature, when in its native purity and ſimplicity; and ſhowed at once what excellent creatures men would be when under the influence and power of that goſpel which he preached to them." In the ſame way Mr. M. appeals to the ſentiments of Lord Bolingbroke, Rouſſeau, Voltaire, Paine, Gibbon, and Lequinio, and by quoting their own words he ſhows what elevated ſentiments were held reſpecting the excellent character of Jeſus, by men who uſed all their faculties to vilify and contemn the religion which he taught. It will be readily conceded that characters ſuch as we have juſt enumerated would not have admitted ſo much, had there been the ſmalleſt doubt on the ſubject. Had it been poſſible to have conſtrued a ſingle action of Chriſt's as unfavourable to virtue, or to have aſſigned to him a ſelfiſh motive for any part of his conduct, the enemies to his cauſe would not have failed to have allowed ſuch defects their full weight. Hence it is evident that he was endued with more than ordinary virtue; and therefore, as Mr. Maltby obſerves,

"It becomes then a queſtion between the advocates and the adverſaries of Chriſtianity, Whether it be not in the higheſt degree contrary to probability, that a perſon of eminent virtue could have contrived and executed ſuch a ſcheme of impoſture as muſt be laid to the charge of Jeſus, if his pretenſions be diſputed? In order to reſolve this queſtion, it is evidently neceſſary to examine, with ſcrupulous care, the light in which this impoſture muſt be viewed; whether it can juſtly be conſidered as a ſort of pious fraud, the motives of which may ſeem to palliate the deſign; or whether, if it be a fraud, it be not attended with very groſs and aggravating circumſtances, and juſtly deſerving to be ſtigmatized, as involving in itſelf peculiar baſeneſs."

The manner and ſtyle in which our author has examined this queſtion, and in which he has ſcrutinized the character of Jeſus on both hypotheſes, entitle him to high reſpect for the

ability with which he defends his own opinion, and for his candour in anſwering the objections of the opponents to Chriſtianity. The ſame ſpirit is equally evident, when, in the next chapter, he examines Mr. Godwin's miſrepreſentations of Chriſt and his religion. How far a work ſo little known and read as Mr. Godwin's "Enquirer," merited the notice given to it by Mr. Maltby, is not our buſineſs to decide: but this we may ſay, without any breach of candour, that a writer who can rear and abandon theories and ſyſtems ſo readily as that gentleman, ought not to be looked up to by the young as a guide in matters of faith. In one part of his life we find, from the volume before us, that Mr. G. was not only a diſciple of Jeſus, but a public teacher of his doctrines:—in "The Enquirer" he charges the religion, which he had heretofore taught and defended, with ſanctioning bigotry and intolerance, and the author of that religion with moral defects in character and temper. At one period, as a Chriſtian, he is the publiſher of ſermons, and at another, the avowed champion of infidelity; and if we may judge from theſe, and from other revolutions in his opinions, it is not improbable that he may again be found the friend and aſſertor of orthodoxy. Mr. Maltby's Defence of Chriſtianity and of the character of Chriſt, in oppoſition to Mr. Godwin, is able, and we think unanſwerable. He examines every objection raiſed by that gentleman—he ſcrutinizes his aſſertions—he unravels and expoſes the futility of his inſinuations, which are the general ſubterfuge of thoſe who are at a loſs for ſound argument. This whole chapter is deſerving the attention of Chriſtians and unbelievers, and it ſurely becomes the latter, as well as the former, to inveſtigate rigidly the motives of their conduct, and the cauſes of that zeal and hoſtility which they ſhow againſt a ſyſtem, the tendency of which is generally acknowledged by themſelves to be highly favourable to the moral conduct and happineſs of men. We ſhall quote a paſſage from the work before us, which refers to Mr. Godwin's attack on the character of Chriſt:

"But on what account, may we aſk, are theſe ſarcaſtic invectives directed by Mr. Godwin againſt the conduct of Jeſus Chriſt? whom is he thus endeavouring to ſhield from the fury of a malevolent aſſailant? No doubt he is eſpouſing the cauſe of ſome enlightened philoſophers, whoſe generous attempts to enlarge the underſtanding and increaſe the happineſs of their countrymen were oppoſed by the power of a tyrant, and defeated by the intolerance of a bigot! No doubt he is protecting, from the attack of ignorance and error, ſome whoſe doctrines breathed the pureſt benevolence, and who were indefatigable in their diſintereſted reſearches after truth! He is defending a virtuous few from the menaces and inſults of one who ſubſtituted authority for evidence, and counteracted the efforts they made

made for the melioration and perfectibility of the ſpecies! The very reverſe of all this. Mr. Godwin heroically ſteps forth in defence of fanatical and cruel prieſts, of crafty and intereſted politicians, to protect them from the reproaches of a perſon who inculcated the pureſt leſſons of morality, and practiſed the moſt exalted benevolence. He is vindicating prejudice, ſelfiſhneſs, and bigotry, againſt Him who was devoted to the generous purpoſe of delivering the human race from theſe and all other moral evils. He is defending 'hypocrites, who devoured widows houſes, and for a pretence made long prayers,' who 'paid tithe of mint, and aniſe, and cummin, but omitted the weightier matters of the law—Judgment, Mercy, and Truth;' men, who perverted divine and human laws to the purpoſes of their own ſelfiſh and cruel policy. Theſe enemies to reform, theſe oppreſſors of truth, theſe perſecutors of virtue, has a modern philoſopher valiantly, but inconſiſtently, undertaken to defend againſt the honeſt indignation of Him, who 'went about doing good;' 'who did no ſin, neither was guile found in his mouth;' who, 'even when he was reviled, reviled not again, but committed himſelf to Him that judgeth righteouſly."

In the laſt chapter of the "Illuſtrations" we have an accurate, and indeed extenſive, view of the defects of the evidence in favour of the Mahomedan religion: and the author thinks that the ſelection of materials for this part of his work will not be objected to by any unbeliever. The writers which he has followed are "Sale, who is allowed by Gibbon to be half a Muſſulman, and Gibbon himſelf, who is not half a Chriſtian." To diſcover the marked and diſtinct lines of ſeparation between the preaching of the Goſpel, and the propagation of the Koran, Mr. Maltby conſiders, (1.) The peculiar circumſtances of the times in which Mahomet appeared; (2.) The temper and genius of the people to whom he addreſſed himſelf; and, (3.) His own natural and acquired advantages. To underſtand how ably our author has conducted this part of his plan, the reader muſt refer to the volume itſelf; no analyſis, nor any abſtract that our limits would admit, could do juſtice to his talents, to the ſoundneſs of his judgment, in ſelecting the moſt appropriate facts and circumſtances, or to the acuteneſs of his reaſoning from facts allowed on all hands to be unqueſtionable. The concluding obſervations on the Chriſtian religion every friend to truth will peruſe with high ſatisfaction.

"Chriſtianity appeared in a moſt enlightened age; it has attracted the notice, and challenged the inquiries, of the acute and intelligent; yet, in the ſpace of eighteen centuries, no one deciſive mark of fraud has been fixed upon, as affecting the conduct or doctrines of its founder. On the contrary, the more accurate the ſearch, and the more piercing the ſcrutiny into its authority, the characters of truth have appeared with undiminiſhed, nay, increaſed luſtre.

" If the revolution of ſo many ages has failed to diſcloſe one indubitable trace of fallacy in the origin of our holy religion; if the labours of ſo many intellects have been baffled in the attempt to ſtigmatize it, as indebted to fraud or enthuſiaſm for its ſucceſs; is it probable that a few more ages rolling on ſhall unfold the hitherto undiſcovered ſecret of its human birth? Are the ſages yet unborn who ſhall probe to the quick the latent wound, which has ſo long rankled, without betraying one ſymptom of unſoundneſs?

" Until ſuch exalted ſpirits ſhall appear, and ſuch wondrous ages arrive, why may we not content ourſelves with believing that, which is ſo far from having been proved incredible, that it has on the contrary been found to poſſeſs all the marks of credibility which in any ſimilar queſtion the human underſtanding can require?

" Surely in the religion of Jeſus there is ſufficient evidence to warrant our faith, ſufficient authority to regulate our conduct, and ſufficient encouragement to elevate and ſuſtain our hope."

After this view of the " Illuſtrations of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion," in which we have in ſeveral inſtances allowed the author to ſpeak for himſelf, any panegyric on our parts would be ſuperfluous, they might, by a diſcerning public, be deemed officious. We may, however, be allowed to obſerve, that while Dr. Paley's " View of the Evidences of Chriſtianity" are adapted entirely to popular conſideration, and capable of forcing conviction upon every mind, Mr. Maltby's Illuſtrations claim the attention of the learned. He has invited to the diſcuſſion thoſe who are capable of entering deeply into the ſubject, who can follow him to thoſe ſources of information whence flow the evidence and facts which muſt ultimately ſecure or demoliſh the foundation of our faith, and of our beſt expectations.

The body of notes which are incorporated through the whole volume, exhibit a deepneſs of reſearch, and an extenſiveneſs of uſeful and important knowledge which are rarely to be found in ſo young a man as Mr. Maltby; and the candour which he has diſplayed, not only in combating his opponents, but in referring to the learned of all ſects, for proofs and illuſtrations of his main arguments, are highly honourable to the ingenuouſneſs of his mind, and exhibit the completeſt evidence of his ſincerity and diſintereſtedneſs in undertaking a work, which will redound to the honour of his name, as long as Chriſtianity itſelf ſhall be valued by its friends or reviled by its enemies.

We now paſs to the Latin diſſertations, which the author profeſſes to have written and publiſhed with the ſame deſign which he had in view in the preceding illuſtrations; that of diſplaying the truth and divine excellence of Chriſtianity: to which valuable and important end, we are fully convinced, the

the whole of this work will be found eminently ſubſervient. The ſubject of the theſis is contained in the following words:

Nequit per ſe humana ratio cognitione ſatis plenâ et certâ aſſequi, quo potiſſimum modo Deus ſit colendus, quæ ſint hominum officia, vita denique futura ſit, necne, æterna.

This queſtion ſo intimately interwoven with the cauſe of divine Revelation, can alone be determined in the way which the author has purſued; which is, abandoning conjecture, to have recourſe alone to the hiſtory of mankind, and eſpecially to thoſe enlightened ages, in which, as he obſerves, men beſt inſtructed in philoſophy, and endowed with the greateſt acuteneſs of genius, directed their inquiries after the chief good, the nature of the gods, and the end of human life. Mr. M. thinks it neceſſary previouſly to obſerve, that there is a very great difference between thoſe things which can be diſcovered by human reaſon, and thoſe which, when diſcovered, are admitted and approved. And he readily grants, that the Deity has not ſuffered mankind to wander in error, altogether ignorant of his exiſtence; or of what duties are to be performed, either to conciliate his favour, or to avert his diſpleaſure. And Mr. M. admits this to have been the caſe from the infancy of the world. But granting this, and that the exiſtence of a Deity be true, it does not hence follow that we can diſcover other particulars which relate unto him. From this ignorance aroſe the doubts of many, whether the Divinity (between whom and mortals there is ſuch an immenſe diſtance) had any care of mankind, or whether he would accept of their prayers and vows. This queſtion, ſo very difficult and obſcure to ancient philoſophers, our learned Author juſtly ſuppoſes, can never be reſolved by human reaſon; but muſt be aſcertained and demonſtrated by God himſelf. This being the caſe, no wonder that men, uſing their reaſon only, often wandered from the path of truth. Cicero, when treating on this ſubject, as our author obſerves, *ſtatuit inter probabilia, eos, qui philoſophiæ dent operam, non arbitrari deos eſſe.* And as to the UNITY of God, Mr. M. obſerves, they never dreamed of it. And that ſuch were the notions which they formed of their gods, that there is nothing, however fooliſh or depraved, which ſome one or other of the ancient philoſophers have not thought concerning the nature of their gods.

It being granted that we muſt form right conceptions of the Deity before we can define the worſhip due unto him, it ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that men, unaſſiſted by divine Revelation, would adopt any other worſhip than the true. And

And that forming to themſelves deities careleſs of human affairs, malignant, diſcordant, and even licentious, they either neglected all religious obſervances, or had recourſe to the vain, deformed, and impure RITES of wanton VENUS, or the furious and deteſtable ORGIES of BACCHUS: or to appeaſe the wrath of any of their divinities, that they polluted their altars with human blood. What Mr. M. emphatically adds, we chooſe to deliver in his own language, and in the appoſite quotation from Cicero.

" Pudet mehercule pigetque me diutius referre, quam turpiter ratiône abuſi ſint iſti pietatis magiſtri, et quam fœde vulgus credulum ac delirum ludificati. Libet potius philoſophi cujuſdam inſignis verba laudare, ut evincam pleraſque veterum de diis ſententias eſſe a vero longe alienas. " Expoſui fere (inquit Cicero) non philoſo-
" phorum judicia, ſed delirantium ſomnia: nec enim multo ab-
" ſurdiora ſunt ea, quæ poetarum vocibus fuſa, ipsâ ſuavitate
" nocuerunt: qui et irâ inflammatos, et libidine furentes induxe-
" runt deos: feceruntque, ut eorum bella, pugnas, prælia, vulnera
" videremus; odia præterea, diſſidia, diſcordias, ortus, interitus,
" querelas, lamentationes, effuſas in omni intemperantiâ libidines,
" adulteria, vincula, cum humano genere concubitus, mortaleſque
" ex immortali procreatos. Cum poetarum autem errore conjun-
" jere licet portenta magorum, Ægyptiorumque in eodem genere
" dementiam: tum etiam vulgi opiniones, quæ in maximâ incon-
" ſtantiâ, veritatis ignoratione verſantur."

Whatever the defenders of natural religion may have to ſay to ſuch repreſentations, (our author juſtly obſerves) that the common people had no other opinions than thoſe in which they were inſtructed by the fables of their poets, or by the vain triflings of the mythologiſts. They had but one opinion; which was, that the gods of their country were to be worſhipped after the cuſtoms of their country; according to the well known precept of Pythagoras,

Ἀθανάτους μὲν πρῶτα θεοὺς, νόμῳ ὡς διάκειται,
Τίμα——

Even Socrates, who muſt, as our author remarks, be confeſſed the prince of philoſophers, was of the ſame opinion; and who would not endure the imputation of his accuſers, when they objected to him the attempt of introducing novelties into the eſtabliſhed religion, and worſhip of their popular divinities. Which, as Mr. M. well obſerves, both among the Greeks and Romans, related only to their civil polity.

The following remarks, which conclude this head, cannot be more ably expreſſed than in our learned author's energetic language, which is here offered as a fair ſpecimen of its purity and elegance.

" At

" At vero pietas ea, quæ caſtos homines, proboſque, et benevolos reddit; quæ ad res cœleſtes contemplandas animum incitat erigitque; quæ denique ad Deum ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ venerandum inſtituit nos atque inſtruit, de hâc ſane vix aut ne vix quidem cogitâſſe videntur aut ii, penes quos erat publica cultûs divini ratio, aut ii, qui philoſophiam, quaſi optimarum rerum cognitionem, excolebant. Quod ſi Græci Romanique in re tantâ cæcutiverint, ſupervacaneum eſſet ad alias gentes reſpicere. Enimvero humana iita ſacrificia, quæ ſunt a Septentrionalibus populis frequentata, Solis atque ignis cultus qui in Oriente increbuit paſſim atque invaluit, prava denique illa et periculoſa de duobus æque potentibus boni et mali auctoribus opinio, hæc, inquam, omnia exemplo eſſe poſſunt, quantulum ratio humana perfecerit in religione, vel qua obſcura ſit, illuſtrandâ, vel qua depravata fuerit, corrigendâ."

As to what relates to the duties of man in ſociety, Mr. M. juſtly remarks, that theſe have ſuch an intimate connection with the duties that we owe to God, that it is not likely that thoſe who erred in the former would not be defective alſo in the latter. And if the rewards and puniſhments of another world be taken away, human virtue muſt be imperfect, and vice take deeper root. Though it will be acknowledged, ſays our author, that wiſe and wholeſome laws were enacted and eſtabliſhed by philoſophers and legiſlators, yet let Athens herſelf teſtify, by her partial praiſe of whatever was of Grecian origin, and her contempt of whatever was of foreign growth, ſtigmatizing it with the odious name of barbariſm, within what narrow limits her ideas of humanity were confined. Indeed, none of the ethnic philoſophers believed, or taught, that man was not born alone for himſelf, but for the whole world. Some indeed, he obſerves, there were who diſcourſed ſplendidly on the love of the human race: but to how few this exalted humanity was confined, let, ſays Mr. M. the ſlaughter of captives, and the ſevere and dreadful condition of ſlaves, amply declare. Who, adds he, cannot but recal to mind the cuſtom that prevailed among almoſt every nation, of expoſing their children; which was not only ſupported by cuſtom, but ſanctioned even by the laws. " Who can reflect (our author aſks) without indignation and horror on the ſavage ſpectacles of the amphitheatres, where men were butchered amidſt the exultations and plaudits of the people?"

What relates to the affections of the human mind, the fountain of human actions, all muſt allow, as Mr. M. obſerves, that even revenge itſelf was dignified with the name of virtue. Whereas, on the contrary, few were to be found who practiſed the laudable virtue of humility; or that patience which cheerfully ſubmits to contumely or injury. And as to the

the perſonal virtues, here each one, as our author ſays, appears to have had a rule unto himſelf. Uncertain of a future ſtate, and depraved in their ſentiments reſpecting the divine government, they openly and frequently ſaid, *Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.*

Mr. M. in the third part of his treatiſe reſpecting the immortality of the ſoul, obſerves very truly, that the ancient philoſophers were not thoroughly perſuaded of this doctrine: and what they had acquired, and did admit, was collected from antiquity. Which, with the admiſſion in favour of Ennius, Socrates, Plato, and others, he proves, by referring to Cicero, who ſays:

" Auctoribus quidem ad iſtam ſententiam uti optimis poſſumus, " quod in omnibus cauſſis et debet, et ſolet, valere plurimum: et " primum quidem omni antiquitate, quæ quo propius aberat ab " ortu et divinâ progenie, hoc melius ea fortaſſe, quæ erant vera, " cernebat. Itaque unum illud erat inſitum priſcis illis, quos caſ- " cos appellat Ennius, eſſe in morte ſenſum, neque exceſſu vitæ ſic " deleri hominem, ut funditus interiret."

We are moſt thoroughly perſuaded of the truth of the ſubſequent obſervation, as being of opinion that it admits of demonſtration as far as ſuch a ſubject will admit of it; which is, that there is the ſtrongeſt reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the conviction or belief of a future ſtate, and the immortality of the ſoul, which the philoſophers of old diſcovered, was derived from thoſe divine Revelations, with which, in the infant ages of the world, mankind were favoured.

Endleſs would it be, as our author remarks, to run through all the opinions of the philoſophers concerning the immortality of the ſoul; he, therefore, ſays:

" Detur mihi igitur inſtar omnium Cicero, qui aliorum opiniones penitus intellexit, accurateque et exquiſite de iis diſputavit. Verba igitur ejus hæc audiamus. " Ut homunculus unus e multis," inquit, " probabilia conjecturâ ſequens. Ultra enim quo progrediar, quam " ut veri videam ſimilia, non habeo." Et recenſitis aliorum de animâ humanâ ejuſque interitu ſententiis, illud demum adjungit. " Harum ſententiarum, quæ vera ſit, Deus aliquis viderit. Quæ " veriſimillima, magna quæſtio eſt."

But however learnedly and calmly Cicero debated this queſtion; we ſee and learn, as Mr. M. obſerves, how unable his belief was to afford him a remedy for ſorrow, or a comfort and ſupport againſt the fear of death, in his Epiſtle wherein he laments the loſs of his daughter;* and from his Oration for Cluentius.†

* Epiſt. ad Fam. lib. 4th. 5, 6.

† Pro. A. Cluent. § 61. Edit. Erneſti.

We

We ſhall cloſe the account of this well-written Theſis in the words of the learned author:

" Quæ cum ita ſint, grates oportet vel maximas agamus Deo, qui mentibus noſtris, quod unum defuerat, large ſuppeditaverit.

" Revelata Religio hoc, an illo, tempore e cœlo deſcenderit, quid tandem intereſt? Quin illud potius meminerimus, ſolidam atque expreſſam veritatis imaginem idcirco poſſe in diſciplinâ Chriſtianâ reperiri, quod doctrinarum optimarum ſcientiam auxerit et provexerit; quod Deum nobis unum ad colendum propoſuerit; quod cultum ejus ſanum purumque ſaluberrimis præceptis inſtituerit; quod cognitionem vitæ futuræ plenam et perfectam nobis patefecerit; quod denique in luce vel clariſſimâ res multas collocaverit, quæ ſummâ ſolertiâ ſummâque diligentiâ veterum philoſophorum fruſtra eſſent inveſtigatæ. Rationis autem patronos etiam atque etiam monitos velim, ut animum ſuum attentum et penitus infixùm habeant in graviſſima hæc Baconi verba. " Cauſſa vero et radix " fere omnium malorum in ſcientiis ea una eſt, quod, dum mentis " humanæ vires falſo miramur et extollimus, vera ejus auxilia " non quæramus."

We might now turn to the laſt piece in this volume, entitled Concio ad Clerum; which is a very valuable critical diſſertation on the long-diſputed ſubject of Jephtha's vow. But we have already given ſatisfactory evidence of Mr. Maltby's powers as a writer, as well in the Latin, as in our own language; and it would be difficult, perhaps impoſſible, to give a correct idea of this diſcourſe, without greatly exceeding the bounds aſſigned to the article; beſides, the biblical critic will derive a pleaſure and ſatisfaction from peruſing the whole, which no partial analyſis could afford.

ART. XVIII. *A Chart of the Weſt Indies, and Spaniſh Dominions in North America.* By A. Arrowſmith. 1803. Price 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* Four Sheets.

TO a great maritime nation nothing is of more importance than Charts formed from accurate obſervation. The ſafety of their veſſels, the ſucceſs of their commerce, and the lives of their ſeamen, depend upon the knowledge which is obtained of the ſhoals, and rocks, and reefs, which are frequently hidden from the view of the incautious navigator.

In announcing a new chart, it will be expected that ſome account ſhould be given of the improvements made in this upon the old ones. It has long been generally acknowledged that the Spaniſh charts of the Weſt Indies are the moſt to be depended on: the navigators of that nation have been at conſiderable pains at all periods, ſince the diſcovery of America,

rica, to take the ſoundings of thoſe ſeas, and to aſcertain the poſition of the ſeveral iſlands, ſand-banks, &c. Our mode of compariſon muſt, therefore, in this inſtance, be between Mr. Arrowſmith's new chart, and the moſt reſpectable Spaniſh charts that were in general uſe.

Mr. Arrowſmith's, which is made on Mercator's Projection, compriſes the ſpace of from 5° to 32° North latitude, and from 60° to 108° Weſt longitude from Greenwich. The firſt object that engaged our attention, on account of the great difference between this and former charts, was the poſition of the Salt Keys. According to the old charts, in ſteering by the Great Bahama Bank, pilots were obliged to keep a direction almoſt directly N. W. whereas by that before us ſhips ſailing from theſe keys due North will effect their paſſage without difficulty.

It is to be regretted that with all new maps and charts a ſketch is not given, by which the public would know upon what authority modern Geographers and Hydrographers deviate ſo materially from thoſe who went before them. The celebrity, however, to which Mr. A. has attained, is a ſufficient ground for us to believe that he would not have made theſe alterations without well-authenticated facts; and indeed he mentions, in one part of the chart, that he is indebted to Mr. Adam Brown, Maſter of his Majeſty's ſhip the Queen (who, if we miſtake not, was on this ſtation during a great part of laſt war), for a corrected plan of all the Bahama Iſlands. From him, therefore, it may be that Mr. A. has learnt that the Great Bahama Bank has been hitherto erroneouſly laid down in former charts full forty miles too much to the Weſt.

The Spaniards took very accurate aſtronomical obſervations at the mouth of the river St. Mary and Cape Carnavaral, in the year 1799, and we find that theſe points, as laid down by Mr. A. agree with the Spaniſh obſervations.

Crooked Iſlands, between the 22d and 23d degrees N. latitude, are laid down very differently, and indeed of ſhapes not at all ſimilar to the ſame iſlands in other charts; and on the N. E. of them is laid down a *ſunken rock*, which we have noticed in no other whatever. From the magnitude of this, as given here, we are led to ſuppoſe that the diſcovery muſt be of no ſmall importance to the intereſts of navigation. It will be ſeen, likewiſe, that all the principal paſſages acroſs the banks are accurately delineated with dotted lines, and the depths are given in fathoms, unleſs otherwiſe expreſſed. By comparing this part of the chart with others of the ſame kind, both French and Spaniſh, there will be found a great difference in the poſition of that range of iſlands which lie North of Cuba and Domingo.

It

It has ſome time ſince been aſcertained that Punta de Mayoi, the moſt eaſterly point of Cuba, was laid down more than twelve miles out of its real poſition in the beſt French charts. We may therefore expect that in this its proper place is aſſigned. The ſame may be preſumed of all the points round Domingo, Porto Rico, the Virgin Iſlands, the Caribbees, Trinadad, and Margarita, as it is well known that the moſt ſkilful and ſcientific of the Spaniſh nation were employed in a ten years ſurvey, for the purpoſe of obtaining them, by means of the moſt accurate time-keepers, and aſtronomical obſervations.

The whole line of coaſt from Trinadad to Cape Catoch, the north-eaſt point of the Yucatan country, wears a very different appearance from any thing that we have ſeen in other maps. The ſame may be obſerved of the great baſin of Maracaybo; inſtead of an eliptic form, it aſſumes nearly a circular one. The paſſages and depths into this baſin are given with great diſtinctneſs, ſo that the pilot can feel no difficulty in ſteering his courſe into it. In this baſin, which is about eighty miles in diameter, ſhips may, in all weathers, ride with the greateſt ſafety. Its waters ebb and flow.

We alſo notice that the logwood country, in which the Engliſh, by the convention of 1786, poſſeſs the right of cutting wood, is bounded, on Mr. Arrowſmith's chart, on the north by *Rio Hondo;* whereas, on many others that have come under our obſervation, the northern boundary reaches no farther than the *New River*.

It ſeems alſo of importance that the line of ſoundings about the Pedro ſhoals, ſouth of Jamaica, which had never before been laid down, is accurately marked. Theſe ſoundings were taken in 1798, by the Spaniſh ſhip Monarca. From theſe Spaniſh ſhips take their departure for Vera Cruz, in New Spain, whither the flotilla from Europe is annually bound for the produce of the mines of Mexico.

The great bank north of Yucatan is deſcribed according to authorities, admitted by all Engliſh navigators, and which have been repeatedly verified by various aſtronomical obſervations. If Mr. A. has taken the line of coaſt from Vera Cruz to Serpents Iſland latitude 29°¼, from Spaniſh charts, as we ſuſpect, there cannot be much dependance placed on its accuracy, as there are no proofs on them that they were formed from aſtronomical obſervations; but we know there are authorities, from an Engliſh and Spaniſh ſurvey compared together, for what has been done on the remainder of that coaſt to Punta Tancha, including the Tortolas.

Lake Nicaragua, as well as the baſin of Maracaybo, is of a very different figure from what we have ſeen in other charts, and

and from that which was taken in the year 1780, when an expedition was made thither from Jamaica. Panama Bay, and all the coaſt from Gulf de St. Miguel to Punta de Barica, appear to have been laid down from Malieſpini's ſurvey, which is already before the public. From Burica to the Gulph of California, may be traced many innovations upon former charts; but the confidence long repoſed in Mr. Arrowſmith gives us a ſtrong perſuaſion that he would not have altered unleſs he was convinced the alterations were real improvements, and juſtified by accurate obſervations.

We might extend this article to great length by additional remarks on many other parts, but we ſhall conclude with ſome obſervations which will occur to almoſt any perſon who attentively conſiders this chart.

We think it a great improvement that the Rhumb Lines are not extended acroſs the map, but are confined to a radius of about an inch and a half, which, with the aſſiſtance of a parallel ruler, or indeed any ſtrait edge, will anſwer every purpoſe of the Rhumb Lines drawn full length in all directions.

This chart, which will be a valuable acquiſition to the navitor, is intended to be equally uſeful, as far as it goes, as a *map* to the ſtateſman and politician. The ſame attention appears to us to have been paid to the inland provinces as to the ſeveral parts of the coaſt. Thoſe belonging to Spain in North America, from the iſthmus of Darien to New Mexico, are accurately divided, and a detail of the rivers, volcanoes, and high lands, is laid down in a ſuperior manner, and which ſeems to have been taken from Ramirez's map publiſhed in 1768.

The whole is rendered intereſting to the general reader by ſhort obſervations: thus the iſland is marked on which Columbus firſt landed, and the date of that event given: notice is taken of Dampier's expedition acroſs the iſthmus of Darien; of the canals propoſed to be cut by the Spaniards ſo early as the year 1528: the general winds, we are told, on the coaſt of Mexico, are from W. to S. W.; and land winds from N. to N. W. On ſome parts of the coaſt the land winds are to the E. of the N. &c.

We think the chart might have been ſtill more intereſting if in the blank ſpace, of which there is neceſſarily a vaſt proportion of the whole, ſome of the more important iſlands, as Jamaica, Barbadoes, &c. had been given on a large ſcale.